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COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

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DEDICATED TO MY FRIENDS, PROFESSORS GEORGE GEMMELL, B. H. FLEENOR, AND M. H. COE, OF KANSAS STATE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE. THEIR AID AND ENCOURAGEMENT MADE POSSIBLE THE PREPARATION OF THIS BOOK.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

PREFACE

In preparing and collecting the material for this book, I have had in mind constantly the leader of rural groups, and the groups themselves as they react to his leadership. The problems dealt with under the ten chapter headings are the problems which I have found in my own personal experience in a rural community, and have observed in the experiences of many other local leaders.

In selecting the "readings" which follow each chapter, I have in the main sought applicable material from such books as are considered standard in the field. Where a local leader or an organization may find it possible to begin to build a leadership library, it will be found advantageous to secure the books from which these readings are chosen.

A number of publishing houses have been exceedingly gracious in permitting the use of material, and special mention should be made of D. Appleton & Co.; *Publications of the American Sociological Society;* Richard G. Badger; The Century Company; Ginn & Co.; D. C. Heath & Co.; Henry Holt & Co.; Houghton Mifflin Co.; Longmans, Green & Co.; The Macmillan Company; The Missionary Educational Movement; The Oxford Press; The Pilgrim Press; Prentice-Hall, Inc.; Row, Peterson & Co., and Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE AUTHOR

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Chapter I

THE WORLD VISION

HUGH EMERSON, from Happy Hollow, was attending a district Rural Life Conference. The speaker's remarks irritated him, for he resented the suggestion of the need of special training for rural leadership. He argued: "I was born and reared on the farm, entered public life in a farming community, and have held public position in the rural neighborhood all my life up to the present time. Therefore, I think that I should be considered as equipped for rural leadership without any special training."

It was suggested to a young woman who was taking up rural community development through the country school, that she might be benefited by coöperation with educators interested in this field, and that she might gain much assistance from a correspondence course in Rural Sociology. She replied haughtily that she planned to teach school in Pleasant Ridge district, where she was born and reared, and certainly she knew more about what Pleasant Ridge needed than could be known by any

one who was not acquainted with Pleasant Ridge people.

These two local leaders were looking at the country community at close range through a powerful magnifying glass. Each saw nothing but the little countryside with which he was familiar.

The local leader to whom "Happy Hollow" is the whole world does not succeed under modern conditions. Many of the most abject failures are found among those whose world is bounded by the horizon of the local neighborhood. Such leaders can only repeat in their own generation the mistakes of the environment in which they were reared. They will also exaggerate out of all proportion their success or failure in that unique environment. Indeed, that may be mistaken for success which is really failure, in that it but reënacts some old epoch new to the provincial group, but which the world at large has outgrown an age ago. *The local leader must get the world vision!*

World vision includes a clear view of the picture of the past. The local leader cannot possibly understand the significance of the present rural situation except by seeing it as a continuance of past history.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the history of social progress had been almost entirely a record of a rural life movement. Processes which the historian treats in a paragraph may represent the agonizing of a whole generation of people in the transition from one period to another in the development of agricultural community life.

Consider the social changes, with their bearing upon rude educational and religious doctrines, precipitated by the transition periods that mark the history of agriculture. For example, note the transition period, in the dim prehistoric time, from hunting to herding. Doubtless there developed during that period situations in tribal and family life as tragic as any of the vexing "farm problems" of the present time. Dr. Carver says: "The transformation was not limited to the character of the individual men; it affected also their laws and institutions, their religion, and their ideas of morality. One of the first of these changes to occur was the development of a new concept of property. . . . With the perception of the desirability of capital and the profit to be derived therefrom came also the perception of the value of labor on the one hand and the desirability of being attached to a wealthy flock owner on the other. Particularly was it seen that women and children were valuable aids to the herdsmen, and women saw the advantage of being attached to a herdsman, who was capable of supplying them with food, clothing, and shelter, rather than to a hunter, who, at best, was able to provide only an uncertain living."[1]

Or consider the tremendous change in social usages and religious customs that must have been brought about when the herdsmen over wide regions sought fixed locations and began to raise on given

[1] Carver, T. N., "Principles of Rural Economies," Chap. 2, p. 33. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1911.

areas the food needed for domesticated animals. "The idea that one man had a better right than another to pasture his flocks upon a given piece of land would have seemed monstrous indeed. However, it came to be understood in some cases that each herdsman or the head of each pastoral group was to restrict his cattle to certain lands. . . . As this process went on, and families grew into tribes and tribes increased in numbers, each tribe would be more and more restricted in its area."[2] So the great rural life movement went on, affecting religion, education, social usages, and morals.

It is not the intention here even to outline this significant tradition and history, but rather to suggest the far-reaching traditional and historic background of the present-day rural life problem. What other than rural problems, were the succeeding changes from herding to crop farming, from open country life to village life, from communal farming to the manorial system, and from the manorial system to the beginnings of the modern system?

Consider the folly of your provincial rural leader who struggles, for example, with the problem of tenancy to-day, without having any background or knowledge of the history of that struggle, which, in England, dates as far back as the middle of the fourteenth century and had as one of its outstanding features the Wat-Tyler Rebellion of 1381; or who does not realize that practically every civilized

[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. 2, p. 35.

nation has passed through just such struggles in the readjustment of systems of land tenure.

It would be refreshing and comforting to the local leader who has no historic world vision, and who feels the foundations of civilization slipping away because of the present rural exodus, to read the old classic writers of Roman days and find them deploring the tendency of ambitious young men to move to the city and suggesting ways in which country life might be better designed to retain the best of rural citizenship. There must have been, at some time in the distant past, a rural life problem even in ancient China. How else could the Chinese philosopher of ages ago declare, "The well-being of a people is like a tree: Agriculture is its root; manufacture and commerce are its branches and its life; if the root is injured, the leaves fall, the branches break away, and the tree dies"?

This historic view of world-wide movements makes for strength and poise and wisdom in the one who undertakes modern leadership.

But what we know more definitely as the rural life movement has its modern history in practically all the civilized nations of the world. The leader of the rural community in America will at least be greatly handicapped without a vision of what has been taking place in recent times in other parts of the world. "In Great Britain the rural exodus has gone with a vengeance. The last census (1901) showed that 77 per cent of the population was urban and only 23 per cent rural. A few years ago there

were derelict farms within easy walk of the outskirts of London. In Ireland the rural exodus took the form of emigration, and this has been the chief factor in the reduction of the population in sixty years from more than eight millions to a trifle above four.''[3]

Before the World War much of the legislation of the British Empire was directed to land reforms. I once heard Keir Hardie, Socialist Member of Parliament, declare that the greatest blows ever struck at Socialism in England were the tremendous land reforms under Lloyd George as Minister of the Exchequer, since they removed much of the cause of discontent upon which such a political movement feeds.

In Ireland the present rural community movement was anticipated more than a quarter of a century ago. The history of these intervening years reads much like the struggles that are now going on in our American rural communities for agricultural organization. The leader whose faith trembles because of the temporary seeming failure of coöperative organization on Pleasant Ridge or in Happy Hollow would certainly be immensely benefited by a knowledge of the final victory after a longer period of struggle in another land—a land that earlier passed through some of the same experiences that are besetting the American rural community.

[3] Plunkett, Sir Horace, ''The Rural Life Problem of the United States,'' Chap. 3, pp. 51, 52. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

Let the local leader who is undertaking the development of organized production or marketing by a plan which has had its origin in his own fertile brain—and who imagines that he has discovered something worth while (if it is a success) or that he has been misled by the demon (if it is a seeming failure)—pause and acquire the knowledge, at once humbling and strengthening, that is imparted by the record of the experiences of Denmark. In 1888 the net export in the three farm staples—butter, bacon, and eggs—was valued at $12,010,000. In 1904 it had increased, through the activity of rural organization, to $68,070,000, and only eight years later had reached the sum of $125,000,000. Like the Utopia of the fondest dreams of the provincial agitator in America is the story of the rehabilitation of Denmark through group organization. There the elements of success and failure have been proved by that final arbiter, History. How utterly foolish it is for the rural leader in America to suppose that he can afford to be without the knowledge of the last half century of progress in Denmark!

The American Commission on Agricultural Cooperation and Rural Credit in Europe, in 1913, found that practically every nation and province visited had taken at least some cognizance of its own rural life problem, and in many instances they had made wonderful progress toward its solution. In the Italy of that pre-war time, the Hon. Luigi Luzzatti declared in an address before this American Commission: "In Italy the small farmers . . .

have made of the several forms of credit coöperation truly wonderful applications. The rural bank . . . is the fruit of the modest, unrecognized virtues of the country folk bound together by bonds of mutual affection, who assist and watch over each other with the subtle vigilance of neighbors. And, lo and behold! these humble folk, void of economic lore, have accomplished a miracle—due to the fact that a moral and not an economic impulse guided their work—the miracle of creating capital out of nothing!" Mr. Roggi, General of the Italian Society of Agriculturists, declared: "The condition of the agricultural population of Italy has greatly improved during the last thirty years, *more especially as the result of applying science to the furtherance of agriculture.*" (Recently a clergyman in an American rural community declared to me that he fully agreed with that faction of his congregation who were opposed to scientific agriculture. Does he know that the Italians, even before the World War, were thirty years ahead of him?)

How much better can the American rural leader form an opinion of the new movements for farm finance if he approaches its study, not as though it were an innovation in our agricultural democracy, but as a belated movement in line with that which is a matter of modern historic accomplishment in many other nations of the world. The previously mentioned commission reported in 1913 on the list of rural credit nations including Roumania, Hungary, Austria, Russia, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium,

Holland, Denmark, Spain, France, England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. With this knowledge, let the leader on Pleasant Ridge take heart!

The local leader needs to know the relation of the rural life situation to immigration. He will study this in two phases: first, the immigrant in the American community; second, the Old World rural population misplaced in the American city. He will then come to realize that the problem of his own local community is very much akin to the problems of communities all over the world, and that it has a definite relation to the problem of immigration in the big American city. One has only to travel extensively through the agricultural communities of the central West to realize that the city has no exclusive possession of the "melting pot" and that a portion of our rural unrest is but a part of the process of assimilating the population of the Old World. One cannot, therefore, work successfully as a leader in this region without having broad knowledge of and sympathy with the character and experiences of the Old World. It is only from the standpoint of such broad knowledge that one can refrain from becoming narrow and dogmatic in his attitude toward religious, social, and educational life among those people who have come to us for adoption.

The immigrant population of our great industrial centers can be understood only by those who have world vision and know that these mighty men, who are being used up in manning our modern machin-

ery in factory and mill, were not born to this life. As these men bend again and again to the lever and the wheel, they are seeing, not the machinery and the smoke and the grimy factory walls, but their native vineyards of southern Italy, or the grass-covered slopes of the Austrian homeland, or the small fields of the Danish farmer; in wistful imagination, they are breathing once again the fresh air of the open country of the far-away Fatherland. Some of them may also be longing for the speedy realization of the dream of an Old World rural leader who recently said, concerning the hopes of his people for even better agricultural organization: "If these hopes of ours attain realization, if they materialize, the current of immigration to your republic will be stemmed, not as a result of prohibitory laws, which always have a taint of economic or social persecution, but by virtue of our own efforts."

Indeed this is a vastly bigger subject than can be learned merely from experience within the confines of Happy Hollow or Pleasant Ridge.

There is a definite relation of the rural situation to modern industry. The local leader cries out in alarm at the rural exodus and foresees in it the utter downfall of his beloved local community and the decadence of farming. There is some just cause for his alarm in so far as a lack of agricultural prosperity or opportunity is the cause for the local exodus. But, with the longer perspective of world vision, he may well realize that the shoemaker and the wagon-maker and the cabinet-maker and the

spinner and weaver, who, with their families, once helped to make up the rural community, have not really become extinct or gone out of industry; they are now parts of the great new industrial system of the city, becoming socialized more rapidly than are their country cousins.

The leader with the perspective which training will give him will easily realize that labor-saving machinery for the farm and the farm home must reduce the number of hands needed to accomplish the work, and that new industries, such as the manufacture and repair of automobiles, the refining of oil, the building of aeroplanes, the making of radio receiving sets, the construction and conduct of telephone systems, the extension of rural mail delivery and the parcels post, are keeping usefully employed those whom labor-saving machinery drove from the work of the farm.

Perhaps there is a movement to consolidate the schools of the country communities of Happy Hollow and Pleasant Ridge and later to add a community high school. To the leader who is ignorant of school movements, it may easily be construed as a petty scheme of one farmer or group of farmers to outwit another farmer or group of farmers and capture the local school building for a particular corner of a special quarter section. But the local leader with world vision understands that there is sweeping over the educational world an evolution so rapid that it amounts almost to a revolution, and since the local community is part of that world,

it must get into line with the new world movement. He knows that an industrial age is demanding industrial education, and that industrial education positively cannot be given in the one-room, one-teacher school. He knows that technical industrial high schools have come into the midst of city industrial life and that, if the industry of agriculture is to keep pace with other world industries, technical agricultural-industrial high schools must come into the country life. He knows that it may have been necessary for Happy Hollow and Pleasant Ridge to be two communities in a world of ox-teams, poor roads, and no bridge over Pleasant Run, but that in a new world of automobiles, hard surface roads, and a steel and concrete bridge over Pleasant Run, these two communities have no longer any excuse for remaining separate and at variance with each other. With world vision, this local leader becomes a world leader in shaping the new course of the system of education for the coming age.

In dealing with any phase of the rural movement which may have application to the local community, the attitude of the local leader will depend entirely upon whether or not he views the situation with the perspective of world vision. It may be the County Agent movement that suddenly comes to his attention through some one's effort to secure his membership in a Farm Bureau. Mr. Jones, the leading member of his church, or Mr. Smith, the treasurer of his school board, may say: "I don't want any young fellow coming to my place to advise

me how to farm." The preacher or teacher with only local vision immediately takes the view of Mr. Jones of Happy Hollow or Mr. Smith of Pleasant Ridge, and leads the opposition against any attempt to exploit his neighbors or to make an unwarranted inference that they are ignorant of the principles and methods of agriculture.

If he has effectively trained himself for rural leadership and has gained the world vision of agricultural organization, he, as local leader, will understand that Mr. Jones of Happy Hollow, or Mr. Smith of Pleasant Ridge, has, because of local limitations, a restricted and mistaken view of the County Agent Movement. He will know that, rather than a new-found scheme to fleece his neighbors, this is but the arrival in his neighborhood of a new world movement. He will know that in Denmark, for many years, farmers' organizations have been employing trained specialists as their agents to further their common interests; that even in Russia the old empire was divided into 1,100 agricultural sections with specialists employed in each section; and that, throughout the civilized world, farmers have been showing a commendable tendency to organize after the form of those modern methods which have given such great impetus to commercial organizations.

He will know the history of the Farmers' Alliance, the Grange, the Farmers' Union, the Farmers' Institutes, and all other farmers' organizations. He will realize that farmers everywhere have been under the great need of organization and that at-

tempts so to organize have not had the elements of permanency. If the organization succeeds at first, its very success may cause it to become burdensome to those who are giving their time in its behalf, and so it may fail. The rural leader with perspective will realize that the Government, in giving permanent and paid leadership to the farming community, is taking a long step toward industrial democracy and taking that step in the realm of the fundamental industry of agriculture.

With the same trained world vision, the local rural leader will look forward fifty years and see his community, which is now unorganized or else broken into groups which are striving against each other, unified on the plane of economic and social efficiency. He will see his county being developed up to the limit of its capacity not only in the realm of agricultural production, but in the realm of social activity, religious organization, and intellectual attainment. He will see all of this brought about by a coöperative plan shared by the national Government, the State, the county, and the local community, in securing and paying trained specialists for leadership in economic, social, and educational activities. He will know that, with the beginning of the twentieth century, the cities accepted such a system under trained management and at their own expense, with a force of paid workers, such as secretaries of commercial organizations and manufacturers' associations, municipal playground directors and assistants, public health nurses, and others

who have been trained for the same and kindred lines of serving the common welfare. With this world vision, the local leader becomes a leader of world movements in their application to his own community and has the bearing and confidence of one who is a leader in reshaping the world civilization.

Without world vision, the local leader finds himself but one of a myriad of grains of wheat being beaten to pieces with ruthless and meaningless pounding. With world vision, the local rural leader recognizes himself as one of the directors of the divinely invented process of making over a crude human product into a refined social life that shall vitally nourish the new Democracy.

LEADERSHIP AND WORLD PROGRESS

Reprinted by permission from Bogardus, Emory S., "Fundamentals of Social Psychology," pp. 462–470. New York: The Century Company, 1924.

Leaders have given their lives to local, state, and national progress, but few have concentrated on world progress. Of these few, a large percentage, such as Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Napoleon, Wilhelm II, have dreamed of world progress in terms of personal control. On the other hand, a small percentage, chiefly religious leaders, and notably the Founder of Christianity, have sought world progress without desiring personal gain; they have made the Great Sacrifice. Their support has been and still is wholly inadequate. World-minded leaders need world-minded followers; both are essential to world progress.

Intersocial stimulation and response on a world basis is a logical phase of social evolution. The expanding scope of intersocial stimulation is evidenced by the historical succession of horde, tribe, tribal confederacy, city-state, feudal state, monarchical state, and democratic nation-state. The next step will be perhaps a world leadership and a world community loyalty which will maintain and enrich national loyalties, but, more important, will give a whole new emphasis to social evolution. A small

but increasing number of persons are attaining a scale of world attitudes. Although the existing world organizations are nearly all voluntary, with little power of enforcing rules in a world-wide way; and although they are functioning largely as social units in their own behalf rather than in specific support of world community, they are nevertheless manned by leaders who are creating a world opinion.

There are religious, business, scientific, and literary leaders who have leaped the boundaries of nations in their thinking, and have begun to establish world-wide contacts. Foreign travel, the universal language of the motion picture, international press associations are indirectly pushing forward the processes of world interstimulation. Improvements in rapid communication, including radio telegraphy and telephony, are annihilating mental as well as geographic distances between population centers and bringing civilization closer together daily around a world conference table.

Studies of business cycles are revealing that "the forces which, in the long run, control the trend of prices, are world-wide rather than national in scope." Basic social conditions are the same the world over. Human wants are multiplied and met the world around by the observance of the same basic social psychological principles. Business, moreover, is pushing its activities to the ends of the earth; labor, also, is establishing "internationales."

The essential unity of human minds everywhere has been recognized. The social patterns of life that are common to all peoples of the earth testify again to the world unity. It is because the same relations in communication, thought, and tools everywhere prevail that the cultures of the world have the same form and manifest the same processes. This is what is meant by the universal pattern.

The unity of mental processes among all people and the diffusion theory of the spread of culture forecast the day when the world will have one culture and one civilization, not monotonous but varied in expressions.

Grotius and his successors who have developed international law have had a world vision. The Hague Tribunal, although helpless in a real international crisis, has been a step toward world community. The members of the League to Enforce Peace, although curiously stressing the idea of *enforcing* peace, had a world ideal in mind. Those who established and who have maintained the League of Nations are advocates of world progress. President Harding, through the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments, which was based on the dubious principle that independent nations should come to agreements on world matters without giving up even a small degree of sovereignty to a world organization, may be credited with promoting the growth of a world opinion, a world conscience, and an open world diplomacy.

At best, however, the efforts of all the leaders of international law and of world peace are likely to break down because of the absence of an adequate coercive world opinion to compel a self-centered nation to obey. Moreover, the absence of a tangible world concept in the minds of national leaders prevents them from judging their official acts in the light of world needs, and thus prompts them, as the German people were led, to postulate false national values.

Before any leaders with wholesome world attitudes can succeed in establishing a practical League or Association of Nations, the majority of the people in the leading nations will need to learn the meaning of the concept of the world as a social group, to think in world terms, and for a period of time long enough to enable such attitudes to become habitually established. They will need to learn to judge the acts of their respective nations in terms of world welfare, but this they cannot do until local, provincial, and national thinking is supplemented by world thinking. There is an abundance of local minds, but only a few world minds capable of grasping the details of world problems in their full significance. World minds are the natural result of thinking about world problems.

Despite the progress that is being made, the people of the different leading nations have not sensed the meaning of world community. There are leaders and advocates of Western civilization and of Eastern civilization; the differences between the

two civilizations, not the likenesses, are receiving the attention of hectic and spectacular movements on both sides of the Pacific. The ordinary leaders and members of the Western social order are widely proclaiming the superiority of Western civilization. They fail to study, either at all or with unprejudiced minds, the worthy points of Eastern development; they see chiefly its defects. They even do not feel humble because of the weaknesses of Western life. Likewise, many of the leaders of Eastern life are silently and politely feeling a sense of pity for Western chauvinists. Rabindranath Tagore freely expresses himself in terms of scorn for the greed of Western society; while another leader, Gandhi, openly repudiates many Western fundamentals.

Leaders are needed to develop the best traits of Western civilization, and of Eastern society; they are also needed to synthesize these best traits of Western and Eastern cultures, and other leaders to educate the people of the whole world in the practice of world values.

A worthy trail in the analysis of the best traits of Occidental civilization has been blazed by Charles A. Ellwood. Following his pioneer work, we may say that the social values in Occidentalism are of two classes, those derived from ancient life and those from modern (nineteenth and twentieth century) times. The two divisions contain four and three sets of factors, respectively. (1) A set of ethical and religious values was derived from the Hebrews and the early Christians. In the former

the major concept is justice; and in the latter, love. (2) A number of philosophical and esthetic values was contributed by the Greeks. (3) A set of administrative and legal values, stressing the rights of property, originated with the Romans. (4) A set of personal liberty values was developed by the early Teutons and given concrete modern expression under the laissez faire doctrine of the nineteenth century in Western Europe and the United States. Within recent decades three additional values have been produced by Occidentalism, namely, (5) scientific methods, (6) business and industrial techniques, and (7), as an antidote to economic extremes, humanitarian values.

For purposes of building a new synthetic set of world values, the following analysis of Orientalism may be suggested. Orientalism is known (1) for its self-sacrifice values, which makes Occidentalism seem to the Oriental synonymous with organized selfishness. (2) There is the contemplativeness of Orientalism culminating in metaphysics. (3) In the East there is custom veneration, for parents, for established ways, for the naturally and socially stable phases of life, and for law and order. (4) There is a set of human courtesy and appreciative values, crystallizing in conventional standards. (5) Orientalism is esthetic and mystically, not rationalistically, philosophic. (6) Orientalism is noted for its sense of social solidarity, which produces a strong sentiment of local and social obligation. The social group and its standards are the

major concepts and the individual, the minor. In the East the family group is the unit, as compared with the individual in the West. (7) The Oriental lives in generalizations rather than in particularizations—a principle which is fundamental to the Oriental's other traits.

When the positive elements in Western and Eastern civilizations are brought together, certain conflicts are evident. For example:

The rational versus the mystically philosophic.
Particularization versus generalization.
The individual over against the family unit.
Horizontal love versus vertical love.
Facts versus concepts.
Individualism versus solidarity.
Personality versus impersonality.
Liberty versus formality.
Action versus contemplation.
Finding versus losing.
Dominating versus appreciating.
Acquiring versus understanding.
The physical versus the psychical.
Anxiety versus tranquillity.
The means of life versus the sake of living.

These contrasts, some of which have been analyzed by scholars such as Inazo Nitobe and K. S. Inui, upon reflection provide bases for building a world community that will be superior to either Eastern or Western civilization. Many are complements rather than opposites, which may be fitted together

into bigger and broader concepts than have yet been thought out.

Some of these apparent contrasts are but the opposite phases of the same spiritual phenomena. The differences are superficial in character. Beneath the contrasts is a genuine unity. Many represent simply differences in degree. For example: the rationalist is also a mystic, but less mystical than the true mystic. The latter is also a rationalist, but less of a rationalist than the true rationalist. He who particularizes also generalizes, but less so than does the true generalizationist; the latter in turn also particularizes but to a lesser degree than does the thorough-going particularist. Thus we might continue through the list of contrasts. After all, both Occidentalism and Orientalism are the products of a universal group life in which human beings are born, reared, and matured. In fundamentals there is an amazing similarity. The color of skin, the slant of the eye, and the shape of the shin bone may vary; social heritages have become widely different; but inherited predispositions and processes of developing attitudes are similar.

The laws of human nature, whether of the East or West, are evidently of the same pattern as the laws of physical nature and the universe. In these realms we find harmony built out of so-called opposites. The centrifugal and centripetal forces operate to produce a universe, and the laws of heredity and of variation function together in producing standardized species and races. If we hold

to the theory that ours is a dualistic universe, we may say also that it is a universe. There is one harmony, and within this harmony there are two general sets of apparently contradictory elements, centripetal and centrifugal, heredity and variation, stability and change, evolution and revolution, individualism and solidarity, conflict and coöperation, hate and love. The advocates of a world progress that is based on the idea of world community believe in a synergizing of Occidentalism and Orientalism; this belief seems to be in harmony with the principles of the physical universe and of social logic alike.

Some of the actual contacts that are being made between Orientalism and Occidentalism have been unfortunate. Commercial traders, such as opium and rum dealers from Western countries have often belied the best phases of Christianity and brought reproach upon constructive Western principles. The impact of Western industrialism and Western freethinking has frequently had disintegrating Eastern effects, producing a "common loss of equilibrium." Western ideas of democracy are upsetting the force of Eastern traditionalism.

Christian missionaries have been carrying Western ideas to Eastern peoples, but in recent years Eastern religious leaders have been reacting unfavorably. China has been asking for a chance to develop a Chinese Christianity rather than have an American interpretation forced on her. Buddhist leaders are adopting the American Sunday School

idea and other Western methods. Eastern nations are asking for autonomy in changing their social cultures even in their religious phases.

In Western countries, Orientalism has not exerted a wide influence, for Eastern visitors have come as students and not as leaders pressing ideas and methods on Occidentalism.

World Values.

It now remains to examine some of the values upon which world leaders are basing their hopes.

1. The world as a single community is becoming psychically one faster than racially one. If mankind had a common origin, he dispersed in various directions over the earth. In migrating, man encountered different environments and became differentiated into races and cultures. The cultures are now being united. (If the reader holds to a polygenic origin of mankind, the point still obtains that there is a general trend toward cultural unity.) The inventions in communication have brought the people of the world into close contact, and made possible the production of a world civilization. The common culture will perhaps always show marked variations, but its unity is apparently fundamental. Inasmuch as the different climatic regions of the earth will continue to function in producing dark and light-skinned races, and sunny and serious people, distinct races biologically will probably remain, although an increasing amount of racial admixture,

intermarriage, and amalgamation may be expected to take place.

2. The world is being characterized by an expansion of the individual's sense of social and ethical responsibility. The concept of progress is probably marked by this phenomenon more than by any other. Moreover, it is only a puny conception of a man's ethical possibilities which would deny the continued expansion of man's sense of social responsibility—to include mankind.

Individuals here and there are asserting a world sense of ethical responsibility. Some have died and others have suffered imprisonment rather than submit to narrow racial, or religious, or national ideals.

3. Human civilization is slowly moving toward a world political institution superior in strength to the most powerful nations to-day, and yet jealously guarding the needs of individual nations, both large and small. Such a world organization may be built out of the virtues of present-day nations; it probably will not abolish nations, but foster them as long as they work for the planetary good. It will undoubtedly do away with hypernationalism, provincialism, and chauvinism. It cannot function well unless it eliminates the balance of power theory, the secret treaty habit, and territorial aggrandizement schemes. It will also be necessary that chauvinistic national leaders be supplanted by world-minded national leaders, and that the populace be trained in world ideals as well as in nationalism.

4. Democratic world leaders alone are certain of

permanent social esteem. Autocratic world leaders soon feel the stinging whip of public opinion. They are able to survive only as long as they appear in the cloak of sentimental and "patriotic" nationalists who are "defending" their country against subtle and dangerous enemies, or else in the guise of being "of the people" and hence democratically minded.

Moreover, history throws overwhelming doubt on the possibility of a world political structure being built out of autocratic principles without carrying in itself the elements of decay and self-destruction. Rulership, from the top down exclusively, bears its own seeds of destruction in the prolonged power which it gives the few over the many. Through autocracy, even the education of the multitude can be subverted.

The evidence indicates that not autocracy, but aristocracy, will exist with democracy in a world community. The tendency is toward a democratic aristocracy, an aristocracy that is being guided by the needs of the many, that is not wasting itself in extravagant living, that endeavors to stimulate all individuals to reach increasingly higher levels of social achievement, and thus create a democracy of social aristocrats, of superior men and women with superior social attitudes.

Industrial democracy is developing as a world value. Neither labor nor capital is entitled to full control. One has as its chief goal, capital; the other, wages; both these ends are materialistic, and in con-

flict at times with democratic and spiritual values. According to present knowledge, an enduring world community will place service values in control, not only of labor and of capital, but also of all occupational and professional activities of man. Individuals in increasing numbers are striving with one another in rendering service. Profitism and speculation are being slowly supplanted by the service attitude. A creditable advance has already been made in putting the service standard in charge of several professions, such as the ministry, teaching, social work, the judiciary, medicine.

Unfortunately, however, the service attitude is being profaned: people seek public esteem because they are rendering service; the service attitude is coming to mean that "I will serve you, if you will serve me in return." Gamblers even operate under the banner of "rendering service" in the form of excitement to men who otherwise would be smothered in routine, machine-like tasks of daily life.

5. The world is becoming increasingly spiritual. The trend of evolution is unmistakably from the dominance of the physical forces to control by spiritual forces. The psychic factors in civilization have been emerging into positions of control. For decades the need has been urgent for the establishment of a universal language, common to all mankind. A truly international university would further the evolution of world community. Clearly, leaders wholly filled by the dynamic of genuine Christian love are needed in order that the most

spiritual world values may be realized in all lands.

A plan to secure "world teamwork" has been suggested whereby each of the nations would annually train 2,000 leaders in politics, science, and internationalism; 1,000 to come from the home country and 200 from each of five other countries. In this way there can be an interchange of ideas and coöperative programs of world welfare developed. Leaders in world progress can thus be trained in all the more important countries.

A world leader, however, must devote most of his time to educating people up to the leaders' levels. In a democracy there are few progressive leaders in public life because voters are not educated to the point of supporting progressive persons. "Voters have attitudes and prejudices which incline them against the new ideas of the progressive leader."

Humanitarianism is not enough, for it has no goal outside of itself, and is apt to become self-centered and professional. Christ's principle of love is humanitarian, but more—its ultimate goal is located outside and beyond humanity. Thus it becomes a dynamic force for perpetually putting new and sacrificial living into world loyalties. Science has invented such powerful engines of human destruction that the people of the world are not safe until they learn to appreciate the meaning of the concept of the world as a group, and on the basis of good will to develop habits of appropriate behavior. Interdependence of groups the world around has come, and has "caught the world with a group-sufficiency

philosophy." An intergroup and world philosophy is needed. To this end, it makes all the difference in the world whether leaders are habitually socialized or not, whether they regularly put the welfare of their followers ahead of personal gain, whether they are understandingly guided by the principles of world welfare and progress. In its last analysis, intersocial stimulation produces world-conscious men and women.

Chapter II

COMMUNITY CONSCIOUSNESS

AS provincialism is the bane of the leader who has not looked beyond the limits of his local community, so a lack of community consciousness is the menace of the leader with world vision. To the latter, the world means so much that his little community seems very insignificant. It means much to him to feel that in some way he is a citizen of the great world!

When one comes with such a vision to a position of local leadership, the first task to set himself is *to acquire a community consciousness.* Successful leadership presupposes loyalty. The whole modern social movement is largely the application of the doctrine of loyalty to conditions of living. The point of contact for the local citizen to develop this spirit of loyalty is found in the local community. It is useless to talk of loyalty to state or nation or world if he is not loyal first to his own group.

How can the local leader inculcate principles of loyalty into the lives of his immediate followers if he does not have an intense feeling of loyalty for them and the interests that are nearest to them?

Certainly he cannot have such an intense feeling of loyalty if in his thinking he has not become an integral part of his local community. This means nothing less than the development in himself of a community consciousness.

The one who has had school or college experience will readily understand the process of the development of this community consciousness. He will remember that, when he entered the institution and heard a crowd of students giving a yell that repeated over and over the name of the high school or college, he felt half ashamed of them as though they might have temporarily lost their senses. In a day or two he had begun to associate the name of the institution with its halls and classrooms, and with its young men and women students; so he found himself studying the yell that included the name. Then, as he began to learn that the institution had its traditions and history, there was awakened within him a great love for those traditions and that history. While this process went on, the daily associations and experiences became a part of his very life, and made him part of their very life. Then he found that the school yell, which was the rallying call for the loyal ones, was his opportunity to express with clearness (though without meaning to those who did not know) his love for the school, its halls, classrooms, walks, campus, traditions, history, young men and young women students—in short, his *community consciousness.*

Now, the leader who comes into the present-day

local community life will find this great difference from his school experience: there will greet him no yelling enthusiastic group overflowing with the expression of community consciousness. This is true, first, because in certain localities one of the evidences of decadence is that there seems to be an utter lack of any real community consciousness; and, second, because where this consciousness does exist it *runs deep,* and awaits special crises, for its expression. When it is expressed in times of crisis, it sometimes finds most violent outburst.

The leader, then, may not find great encouragement or assistance in acquiring this necessary possession, community consciousness. In fact, he may feel that the people purposely discourage him in his effort to gain it. Nevertheless, such acquirement is his first duty to himself and to the community in which he assumes the place of leadership. He will acquire this consciousness by sympathetically and studiously gaining the understanding and appreciation which native residents have acquired through years of experience and local associations. He may well cease for a time to fix his gaze upon the far world view, and give his entire attention to the local situation. In order to school himself to this new local view, he may safely run the risk, for a time, of seeming to be provincial. Just as he came to love the great, teeming world, he is now to love his own community. Just as he once loved to study the magnitude of the infinity of world processes, now he is to love the minutiae of the infinity of commu-

nity processes. This community is to become a world to him—a world in which he is a leader and the destinies of which he is helping to shape. When he gets this view, he will come to understand that in a very real sense the little world of a local community is as big as the whole round globe.

The leader should start no new movement until he makes at least a beginning toward acquiring this community consciousness. Otherwise, the project which he advocates may not in any way be applicable to the needs of the people by whom it is to be undertaken.

This means, then, for the leader, an intensive study of the community. It is quite essential that the preacher should have studied the larger part of his theology and the teacher the larger part of his pedagogy, and the county agent the larger part of his agriculture, before assuming his new position. Theology the preacher may need; pedagogy the teacher may need; and agricultural knowledge the agent should possess; but knowledge of local conditions is absolutely indispensable. This may best be done by a community survey.

Conducting a community survey will be governed according to the purpose for which the collected facts are to be used. From this standpoint, there are two kinds of surveys: first, the survey to assemble data that is to be given publicity, so as to awaken the community to a knowledge of its real condition; second, the survey that is to ascertain facts for the use of a leader in establishing his at-

titude in the community and governing his program. For purposes of successful leadership, the latter of these is of much greater importance than the former. The former is likely to be taken up merely as a fad, to make a show of doing something; its conclusions are likely to be erroneous, and the sensationalism attached to its publicity is likely to arouse animosity in certain quarters, with the result that the one who conducts the survey finds his influence so weakened that he cannot get further results.

For purposes of intelligent leadership, this knowledge must be acquired without giving publicity to the act of survey. Many a leader has made himself so conspicuous, in his act of surveying the local field, as to alienate his people. One does not like to have his possessions or himself investigated as one would investigate stolen property or museum freaks.

The well educated leader may have in mind the map of every great country on earth and a general outline map of the world—he will now make a map of the local community. This map will specify not only the geographical boundaries (and indeed these may be of doubtful certainty and poorly defined), but the trend of creeks and draws, the public highways, the rocky ledges, the wooded sections, the cultivated lands, the pasture lands, and the location of farm homes, schoolhouses, churches, and the like. Some local leaders who can name quickly the capital cities of the great nations and tell all the facts about the great rivers and mountains of the world, show a lamentable ignorance about the rela-

tive location of places of interest and importance in their own communities. A community map should be constantly in view on the wall or desk in the room in which the local leader works.

A study of the community will give attention to special physical features, such as topography, soils, seasons, temperatures, precipitation, and other factors. None of these studies need be technical or exhaustive, but they should be sufficiently thorough to give the leader a working knowledge of the physical conditions in the midst of which his new-found neighbors are living and toiling.

"Probably no influence is more important upon the lives of people than the topography of the community under consideration. The status of the farmers at any particular time and the agricultural activities are entirely different in the rough and rugged country from those in the level or slightly level undulating country. Consider, for instance, the problems confronting a community of one thousand people settled in narrow valleys with precipitous mountain walls on either side. They are shut in from the outside world. It is difficult to get into communication with outside activities. For this reason the customs of the people upon entering the valley are apt to linger long. . . . Compare for a moment such a community of one thousand people in a level prairie country. Try to determine to what extent the differences are due to topography. . . . In the prairie country large machines, drawn by many horses, pass over the level land; great fields

of grain will flourish. In the mountain valleys, a few rows of corn, small patches of cereals, small machines, each man with one work animal, or probably doing the work by hand, will be found."[1]

Mr. Coulter tells of two communities of the same general location, topography, rainfall, and other factors, but with different soils conditions. These lands were settled at different periods by farmers who migrated from the same locality. "One group came ahead of the other by twenty years, and found large tracts of very rich soils, free, surveyed, and ready to be occupied. The other group came after all of this area had been taken, and they were practically forced to settle upon much less desirable soils. It is scarcely necessary to state that the second group, although coming at a much more opportune time, has not prospered nearly to the same extent as has the former group." A soils situation of this kind may prove the cause for a difference in prosperity, happiness, and possibly a tendency towards social and educational progress.

In the last twenty years two adjoining communities known to the writer have undergone a change in social, educational, and organized life that seems to the casual observer to be without reason and without relation one to the other. But the local leader who knows his community understands that the far-reaching social changes are the results of other physical changes due to the topography, soils

[1] John Lee Coulter, Special Agent for Agriculture, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

conditions, and mode of farming of the past quarter of a century. Community Number One lies up in the hills, in an ideal grazing country. The farmers began to vie with each other in breaking the soil, and in listing it up and down the hills. Community Number Two lies below the hill land, at the junction of two creeks that drain the upper territory. Formerly two stable groups were represented in these communities: churches, schools, social organizations seem to have run along accepted normal lines. Then strange changes began to be noted. Owners of farms in the hill country began to sell to less intelligent and less progressive farmers, and much of the land became trading stock. Others rented the farms to tenants, who would not stay long in the vicinity. So, in time, school life, church life, and social life began to go to pieces. Land values came to a standstill, and land ceased to be marketable.

In the meantime, the land in Community Number Two began to increase in value. The little town center showed new signs of life. Church lines began to be confused on account of the coming in of other religionists. New school movements began to be inaugurated. Evidently economic, social, religious, and educational life in that community was progressing.

The top soil of the upland was simply being washed into the valley. The progressive, prosperous people were following it in its downward course; for now the rich and productive soil is in the valley where is located the town of Community Number

Two, while on the upland the eye can easily perceive the protruding clay, increasing in redness and deadness toward the higher lands, where erosion has taken place more violently. It is difficult to know how a leader would understand these two communities and their relation to each other without a careful study of their physical conditions.

A Kansas farmer recently called my attention to a quotation from a paper written by an agricultural leader in the East, and quoted publicly by a local leader in his Kansas farming community. The Kansas local leader urged the adoption of the method recommended by the Eastern specialist and held up to contempt the farmer who would ignorantly persist in not accepting the admonition. The Eastern agriculturist declared that the farmer had no right to waste one stalk of corn fodder by leaving it standing in the field until January or February. Said he, "If you have more than will go into your silo, build a shed and at least put the balance of it under cover." The farmer who cited the quotation as the basis of complaint has a farm of several hundred acres, and that season had cultivated one hundred and forty acres of corn. He asked me to figure for him how large a shed it would take to cover all the corn fodder he had left after he had filled his silo. With dry humor, he stated that it was his opinion that he "had best occupy the time, and spend the money that would be involved, in raising a few acres of alfalfa, which would take considerably less shed room and pro-

duce a lot better feed." The advice of the quoted agriculturist in the East would have been all right for a section where people grow corn in ten or twenty acre areas. Its recommendation by the local Kansas leader for his farming community showed that he was lacking in the necessary qualitiy of common sense, or else (which is more likely) that he did not know enough about his community to be aware that men were cultivating corn in quarter-section tracts.

Another leader led his people enthusiastically into the building of a coöperative creamery, only to find afterwards to his chagrin that the neighborhood was not a natural dairy section, and that there was not a real dairy cow within the distance of a five-mile haul. He had read about the successful coöperative dairy movements in other parts of the world—but he did not know his own community.

The successful local leader must know the traditions and history of his community, and weave them inseparably into the traditions and history of his own life. He must have the artistic ability to "other" himself—that rare gift that produced novelists like Ralph Connor, in his portrayal of the life of the Canadian lumber regions; Harold Bell Wright, in his presentation of the local secrets of the Ozarks; and Margaret Hill McCarter, in her picturesque setting forth of the local traditions of Kansas communities. The local leader will make these local traditions a part of himself—not, however, in order to immortalize himself in the history

of story-writing, but rather to immortalize them in his own heart and to immortalize his own life in the heart of the community. Every neighborhood in America is rich in these local traditions of pioneer life. The leader can find in his community the principles and processes of the larger world. Thus, vicariously, he becomes at heart an "old settler," sometimes acquiring more genuine pioneer community consciousness than the old settler himself can boast; because experiences sometimes seem more tragic to the imagination than they seemed to the one who went through them as parts of commonplace, everyday life.

The leader will develop a community consciousness by sharing the present, everyday experiences of his neighbors. He will enjoy their joys with them, and sorrow with them in their sorrows. He cannot do this if he is an "absentee" leader. The preacher who "comes in" to preach, or the teacher who "comes in" to teach, can never gain a community consciousness.

The local leader will associate with the people of his neighborhood in their common economic and social practices. The County Agent will not expect the people to come to his Farm Bureau meetings, nor the teacher to his school affairs, if these leaders do not attend the people's community affairs.

Consider, for example, the "public sale" in the country. It has been advertised for several weeks. Not only are farm implements and farm animals from that particular farm offered at auction, but

other farmers in the region have added to the stock and implements for sale. This gives the entire affair a community significance. Almost every home in the community will be represented in the crowd on sale day, and in many cases the entire families will attend. At noon a lunch will be served, and thus provide an hour of social interest. This is a community meeting, expressing economic interest and social interest combined. The writer has attended many of these public sales and has often failed to find the county agent, the home demonstration agent, the school teacher, or other local professional leader in attendance. If the sale is on Saturday, the minister frequently will excuse himself with the plea that he was in his study preparing his sermons for the coming Sunday. The teacher may say that he was correcting papers at the schoolhouse or was perhaps on his way to his home in a nearby city. Such types of local leaders, who are too busy to be a part of the community life, will roundly condemn the people of the community for not attending public affairs which they, as leaders, announce and which are to the interest of their own personal success. The preacher can preach more practical sermons, and more of them, at country sales on Saturdays than he can from his pulpit on Sundays. The teacher can bring more country parents into personal touch with himself and the school at the country sale than he can at a called meeting of the parent-teachers association. And, what is more to the point, by mingling with the people, local

leaders learn the local language, get the trend of the local thought, develop "community consciousness." They positively cannot have this development in their own lives if they hold themselves aloof from the people.

In some sections, the *charivari* is a common custom of celebrating a marriage. This is engaged in not only by young people but by adults as well. The leader who is struggling to get the people to center their social life in his particular church or his particular school organization can only be looked upon as a selfish parasite if he takes no part in a form of social life that is already prevalent in the community. If he has real qualities of leadership, not only will he find great pleasure in these homely social events, but his very presence and influence will make for turning noise into music, destructive pranks into games, and mere conviviality into a high type of social enjoyment.

These are mentioned as but two types of economic and social life already present in the country. There are many such, varying in different sections of the country. The local leader will not gain community consciousness unless he becomes a part of the community processes. Neither is he to be a "ghost at the feast," present from a sense of duty or to catch the people for his particular propaganda—or for any other reason than that here the community is found in action, and *he is part of the community.*

In organizing a community club in a rural neighborhood, the writer was asked to nominate some one

to act as secretary. Upon his suggesting that the school teacher serve in that capacity, a farmer said simply and without any idea of offering an adverse criticism, "I think it would be better to have some one do that who is *one of us.*" He believed that some one could best serve the community who had "community consciousness." The school teacher, he knew, did not have that consciousness of oneness (note his words, "who is one of us") because she lived in a nearby city, came out in time for school on Monday morning, and left promptly at four o'clock on Friday evening. She was not *of* the community, therefore they had a distinctive conviction that she could do nothing *for* the community. Local leadership, without community consciousness, is doomed to bitter failure.

Warren H. Wilson says:[2] "The community is an old ideal, born out of the experiences of mankind in America and Europe, which expresses to-day the working principles of rural repair. The way to teach a population this ideal is not merely to preach it and describe it, important as that is, but to *practice* it. People learn by what they do more than by all that they hear. . . . The teacher should get his people to *do* the thing which he wants them to believe. . . . When he has started the practice of the community, he must not fail to state the ideal to the community."

[2] Wilson, Warren H., "The Church of the Open Country," Chap. 1, pp. 19, 20. New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1911.

He can neither start the practice nor convincingly state the ideal, if he must continually say, "*Your* community." But the practice and the ideal will go hand in hand when from his heart he can truly say, "*Our* community."

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

Reprinted by permission from Ellwood, Chas. A., "The Psychology of Human Society," pp. 125–128. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925.

We mean by socialization the growth in individuals of the capacity and will to act together. Subjectively, it is a growth of *we*-feeling in members of a group, or the development in them of social-mindedness. Professor Giddings finds that the process of socialization is a process wherein there is a growing consciousness of kind, an increasing like-mindedness, increasing sympathy and understanding, and increasing friendliness or affection among the members of a group. It is obviously personal acquaintance and intimate association which brings about most effectively the development of these traits. Sympathy and understanding, for example, are best promoted through personal acquaintance; yet upon sympathy and understanding depends largely the harmony of human association wherever it exists. The socialization of the individual must evidently take place within one or more face-to-face groups before we can expect that it will be manifest in wider social relations. Yet upon socialization depends the whole harmony of human relationships. According to Professor Giddings, it is the development of socialization which leads to co-

operation and makes coöperation possible, especially in its higher forms. While coöperative behavior probably vastly preceded the inner, or subjective, process of socialization, yet it is true that the socialization of individual character does precede the development of higher forms of coöperation among human beings. Coöperation and socialization thus develop together in human society. Every advance in coöperation must have correspondingly socialized character in individuals to support it. Practically, therefore, coöperation in human groups depends upon socialization of the individual character of their members.

According to Professor Giddings, also, it is socialization which produces all rationally and conscientious human behavior. It may seem at first that socialization with reference to very small groups could not have this result, because the social spirit of small groups is often very narrow. Yet individuals by participating in the life of such groups acquire the social consciousness (the consciousness of the group); and as the groups in which they act become larger, either in imagination or actual experience, their social consciousness enlarges. If the socialization of the individual is only with reference to small groups, such socialization may work at cross-purposes with the interest of society at large. Nevertheless, it is through the experience in the primary groups that we become socialized in our attitudes toward larger or secondary groups. These larger groups are made real to

us very largely through our social imagination. Those things to which we actually adjust ourselves in group life are always the images of our fellow men, our realization of the reality of their existence and of our relations with them. Hence our participation in the life of larger groups is made possible by our experience in the life of small, face-to-face groups. Hence, it is these groups which teach us to identify ourselves with our fellows and perhaps ultimately with humanity at large. Thus Giddings is right in holding that the process of socialization in its higher phases becomes a process of moralization. The highly socialized individual becomes marked by his sense of responsibility for the welfare of his group. We say that he is socially conscious because he thinks not so much of himself as of his associates. He not only identifies himself with his group but he holds himself responsible for the welfare of all its members, so far as it lies within his power. If the group of which he thinks is the largest possible human group, humanity, then his behavior becomes not only socialized in the highest sense but completely moralized. Hence the highly socialized individual, as Professor Giddings finds, is dependable and helpful in his social relations, mindful of the value of group usages, but also independent in thought, courageous, and willing to experiment, because he is mindful of the welfare of society as a whole. Hence his beliefs are subject to review and modification; he is tolerant and open-minded, but insistent upon evidence; judiciously

critical rather than fault-finding; inventive and creative.

This process of socialization of behavior must begin in the small, face-to-face groups of men. It is in these groups that the individual first learns to imitate others, or to do as others do; first learns to sympathize, or to feel as others feel; receives his first suggestions from associates, and learns to think with them. In other words, in these groups the individual first participates in social consciousness and is first subject to social control. Throughout life, moreover, the social control and social coercion to which the individual is subject are stronger in the face-to-face groups than in the non-face-to-face. Coöperation and all the primary social attitudes are learned in these groups. We may confidently say, therefore, that the primary groups must always remain the chief means of socializing the behavior and character of individuals, and that, consequently, the tone of larger, secondary groups will always depend upon the tone of primary group life. It has been well said that "the finer standards of conduct in large social groups, in industry and politics, will wait upon the growth of virtue in face-to-face intercourse."

The whole complex system of existing human association and institutions, from one viewpoint, may be interpreted as so many devices for socializing the character and behavior of individuals. Government, education, moral ideals, and religion manifestly aim to cultivate attitudes and values in in-

dividuals which will socialize them with reference to certain groups, large or small. Hence we shall have more to do with the theory of the socialization and social control of the individual throughout our study. But it is important to note that the vital part of the process of socialization has always taken place, and must continue to take place, in face-to-face groups.

THE NATURE OF THE PRIMARY IN-GROUP

Reprinted by permission from Cooley, C. H., "Social Organization," pp. 23; 24; 25; 26–27; 29–30. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coöperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a "we"; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling.

It is not to be supposed that the unity of the primary group is one of mere harmony and love. It is always a differentiated and usually a competitive unity, admitting of self-assertion and various appropriative passions; but these passions are socialized by sympathy, and come, or tend to come, under the discipline of a common spirit. The individual will be ambitious, but the chief object of his

ambition will be some desired place in the thought of the others, and he will feel allegiance to common standards of service and fair play. So the boy will dispute with his fellows a place on the team, but above such disputes will place the common glory of his class and school.

The most important spheres of this intimate association and coöperation—though by no means the only ones—are the family, the play-group of children, and the neighborhood or community group of elders. These are practically universal, belonging to all times and all stages of development; and are accordingly a chief basis of what is universal in human nature and human ideals. Such association is clearly the nursery of human nature in the world about us, and there is no apparent reason to suppose that the case has anywhere or at any time been essentially different.

As regards play, I might, were it not a matter of common observation, multiply illustrations of the universality and spontaneity of the group discussion and coöperation to which it gives rise. The general fact is that children, especially boys after about their twelfth year, live in fellowships in which their sympathy, ambition, and honor are engaged even more, often, than they are in the family. Most of us can recall examples of the endurance by boys of injustice and even cruelty, rather than appeal from their fellows to parents or teachers—as, for instance, in the hazing so prevalent at schools, and so difficult, for this very reason, to repress.

Of the neighborhood group it may be said, in general, that from the time men formed permanent settlements upon the land, down, at least, to the rise of modern industrial cities, it has played a main part in the primary, heart-to-heart life of the people. Among our Teutonic forefathers the village community was apparently the chief sphere of sympathy and mutual aid for all the commons all through the "dark" and middle ages, and for many purposes it remains so in rural districts at the present day.

In our own life the intimacy of the neighborhood has been broken up by the growth of an intricate mesh of wider contacts which leaves us strangers to people who live in the same house. And even in the country the same principle is at work, though less obviously, diminishing our economic and spiritual community with our neighbors.

Besides these almost universal kinds of primary association, there are many others whose form depends upon the particular state of civilization; the only essential thing, as I have said, being a certain intimacy and fusion of personalities. In our own society, being little bound by place, people easily form clubs, fraternal societies, and the like, based on congeniality, which may give rise to real intimacy. Many such relations are formed at school and college, and among men and women brought together in the first instance by their occupations—as workmen in the same trade, or the like. Where there is a little common interest and activity, kindness grows like weeds by the roadside.

But the fact that the family and neighborhood groups are ascendant in the open and plastic time of childhood makes them even now incomparably more influential than all the rest.

Primary groups are primary in the sense that they give the individual his earliest and completest experience of social unity, and also in the sense that they do not change in the same degree as more elaborate relations, but form a comparatively permanent source out of which the latter are ever springing.

These groups, then, are springs of life, not only for the individual but for social institutions. They are only in part molded by special traditions, and, in larger degrees, express a universal nature.

To return to primary groups: the views here maintained is that human nature is not something existing separately in the individual, *but a group-nature or primary phase of society,* a relatively simple and general condition of the social mind. It is something more, on the one hand, than the mere instinct that is born in us—though that enters into it—and something less, on the other, than the more elaborate development of ideas and sentiments that makes up institutions. It is the nature which is developed and expressed in those simple, face-to-face groups that are somewhat alike in all societies; groups of the family, the playground, and the neighborhood. In the essential similarity of these is to be found the basis, in experience, for similar ideas

and sentiments in the human mind. In these, everywhere, human nature comes into existence. Man does not have it at birth; he cannot acquire it except through fellowship, and it decays in isolation.

"LOCAL" AND "LARGE" LEADERSHIP

Reprinted by permission from Carney, Mabel, "Country Life and the Country School," pp. 322-323. Chicago: Row, Peterson and Company, 1912.

Rural leadership may be considered as of two kinds—*local* and *large*. By *large* is meant the particular direction of affairs in state and national government that shall work for better equity and justice toward farmers. The contention here is not for agricultural class privileges. Special privilege of many kinds is already proving dangerous to our national democracy, and farmers must, and do, for the most part, fully recognize this truth. The facts of the case, however, are that the inherent rights of landowners, for one reason and another, have been much over-ridden. There is need for agricultural statesmen of insight and vision, who will see the necessity of remedying these discrepancies of the law, and, in response to this vision, will serve not only the forces of agriculture but all national forces.

But great as this need for what has been termed large leadership in agriculture, opportunities for local effort are even more significant and plentiful. Local leadership within the farm community is of two types—*lay* and *professional*. By professional leaders in this connection are meant those who serve the country community in offices of educational di-

rection, as teachers and ministers. The men and women now in this field carry a tremendous responsibility just at this juncture of national development. Into their hands for the next decade is entrusted the perpetuation of influences which shall send young people of the farms cityward or hold them countryward. This type of local rural leadership is thus a great resource for the conservation of country life.

But professional leadership, in the last analysis, is but a means to an end, and this proper end is the development of lay, or farmer, leadership. The country teacher, to illustrate, should become a leader, but if this leadership ends with itself it will be a detriment, rather than a benefit, to the community, because it will have taught the people dependence, whereas independence and initiative are the results desired. What the true-visioned teacher, or other professional leader does, is to submerge his own individuality and, through suggestion and stimulation, foster the latent possibilities of the men, women, and young people of the farm community, and send them to the front as guides and directors. This is *true* leadership and the only kind implied hereby the use of the term.

LEADERSHIP ISOLATES

Reprinted by permission from Bogardus, Emory S., "Fundamentals of Social Psychology," pp. 97–98. New York: The Century Company, 1924.

Any leader, by virtue of being such, suffers loss of contacts. Christ's greatest agony is found in part in the fact that "no one really understood the vastness of His thoughts and feelings . . . His spiritual loneliness was His extreme trial." An eminent judge recently reported that when he accepted a position on the bench he found it necessary to give up his intimate friendship with many attorneys in order not to be accused of partiality when these attorneys were representing clients in his court. This isolated situation became unbearable, and he finally compromised by keeping three or four close friends among attorneys and by refusing to permit them to try cases before him.

In another way leadership isolates, for a leader who is devoted to the tasks of his position must give undivided attention for days or even weeks at a time to the technical problems before him in order that he may discharge his duties well. The congressman at the Capitol partly loses contact with his constituents, while back home his political rival may be making many new contacts. He therefore must hurry "home" before an election in order to

"rebuild his fences," in other words, to reëstablish contacts. An election often resolves itself into a conflict of "contacts" on the part of the respective candidates; the successful one is usually he who has made the most favorable contacts.

Leadership also isolates in that it tends to give the successful leader a sense of exaltation, and a certain aloofness. Aristocratic attitudes, not to mention autocratic attitudes, beget isolation. The importance of a leader maintaining level contacts with the multitude is at once apparent. High peaks of eminence, moreover, are often unduly singled out for attack, and thus are isolated.

Chapter III

DIRECTED PROGRESS

ANYTHING may be said to be perfect when it has entirely harmonious relationship with its environment. Judged from this standpoint, the local community is often far from perfect. Today's environment is one of industrial efficiency; the leader in an average agricultural area sometimes finds the greatest inefficiency in the industry of farming. The social environment demands the most modern type of home equipment; the leader may find in his community the most antiquated type of home equipment. The educational environment demands a school to fit into the system of training for the life of the new age; the leader often finds a school that does not efficiently train for the life of either the old age or the new age. The environment demands a church that shall teach people how to live righteously in this new age; the leader often finds a church that does not try to understand the new age, and does not recognize itself as elected to teach people to live at all—but rather to teach them to *die*.

During the last quarter of a century of the new industrial era, the world has been moving on at a

terrific rate, but many a local community has been standing still. The leader who has been trained at the civic and industrial centers where are located our great educational institutions, when he arrives in the local community where he is to be the leader, finds that from his standpoint everything is entirely wrong. Furthermore, with the added knowledge of the modern socializing movement which the schools are now hastening to give, the new leader knows (or *thinks* he knows) exactly how things ought to be. His task as a leader then appears to him to be one of taking a situation in which *everything is entirely wrong* and bringing out of it all a situation in which *everything is entirely right*. At this point, success depends largely upon whether he will attempt to precipitate a revolution or, on the other hand, bring about a persistently planned and executed, but slow, development—a "volitional evolution." The former course spells quick failure plus nervous prostration for the leader. The latter course, properly pursued, spells success; and, therefore, he may well study how best to pursue such a course. Here, then, are certain fundamental principles involved which he must ever bear in mind.

Any given action, to have the elements of permanency in community building, must be *by the people*. History records that after Constantine had declared Christianity to be the religion of the Roman empire, one of his generals, who had captured a barbarian army, drove his prisoners through a river and brought them out on the other side baptized Chris-

tians. Even churches of a more modern time have been known to swell the records by some such "get-rich-quick" scheme for the cause. Probably every leader in any cause sometimes faces the temptation to force his cause quickly to a seemingly successful issue rather than to wait until the people are ready to accept the cause as their own. One of our wise men, in a lecture given before the students graduating from a school that trains for leadership, gave this wholesome piece of advice: *"Never move forward rapidly with a small majority."* The reasons are obvious. A small majority cannot bring to bear sufficient influence to accomplish things with an opposing large minority. Also, the more rapidly the leader moves forward with his small majority, the smaller the majority becomes, until he suddenly realizes, when it is too late, that his majority has dwindled to a minority, and the opposition majority has voted him ignominiously out of his position of leadership.

For example, the new principal of the school has arrived. In a few days he has expressed his opinion to the community (in the town post-office or in other casual meeting places) that the school building is a disgrace to a civilized town and not a fit place for the children to assemble; that the district school has outlived its usefulness anyway, and that all intelligent people favor the consolidated school; that they must immediately consolidate, build a new schoolhouse, and add to the curriculum manual training and home economics. He declares within a week

(and, with many side comments, the word goes out over the country telephone lines) that the board must buy playground equipment, and at once engage a teacher to have playground supervision as part of her work. The school, he says, is to be a social center, the building to be used every night in the week, and at once there must be purchased a phonograph, a radio set, and a moving picture machine, to help add to the social activities.

We will say, for the sake of argument, that he is entirely correct in deciding that the right kind of community school program would require all of these things. But the new program, presented so suddenly and in such glowing light, stands out in boldest contrast to the old. Comparisons are still odious. The new is an insult to the old. Advocates of the old rush together in loyal array. The people register their opposition to the "young upstart." A board meeting is hastily called to tell him "where to head in," and inside of one month it becomes an open secret that the district "will be rid of that fellow in another year."

If he is a particularly zealous man and strong in his convictions, he wishes that he had the money to get the necessary equipment—he would "show them." But there are abundant cases on record where individuals of this sort have lavished money upon such enterprises for the people, and yet the enterprises have not been accepted by the people. On the prairies of a western state I have seen a building erected as a community school in the open

country, with ideals exactly like those of our present-day rural high schools. A school teacher knew how a school *ought* to be built and conducted. The people were too slow. Suddenly he had a big tract of land left him as a legacy. Very well; he would show them! So he built his community school for them. It struggled along for a few years against community lethargy from some sources and definite opposition from others. It eventually stood vacant in a great field of wheat, a public hall for the rats. No man can conduct a school for the people if the school does not grow out of a popular demand.

A young preacher just out of an eastern seminary came into a small western town. He knew exactly how to conduct the right sort of church, and was very ready to say what must be done. Moreover, any idealist would have admitted that he was right. The two denominations in the town *must* unite at once by the modern lion-and-lamb process; the smaller one had no business to exist. The little one-room church building was a monstrosity of a bygone age; it must be torn down and a modern church building must be erected. The song book in use was good enough for "revival ragtime" but must be discarded for one containing hymns of true worship and praise. The Sunday School, as conducted, was easily fifteen years behind the times, and must at once be made modern. When a community organization specialist visited him, he showed an aloofness of superiority. "Anyone could see what ought to be done" in his town. It needed

no advice of a specialist. Two years passed. That is a little longer than such leaders usually last in these modern times—but that young fellow had great vitality and no family to feed and clothe.

A parishioner of his, attending the Agricultural College, stepped into my office one day, and I asked after the welfare of his pastor. "Oh," was the answer, "he's gone into business back East." "What was the trouble?" "Well, he was a good fellow, but he drove the people too fast. Finally he tried to force that new fifty-thousand-dollar church building on them, and they wouldn't stand for it. They got him! First he broke down with nervous prostration, and then he suddenly resigned and went back to New York state."

A County Agent was employed by a Farm Bureau in an area where the farmers particularly disliked the name, "adviser." Yet the new agent had placed over his office door a sign which read, "Farm Adviser." When asked if he did not think it unwise to display an objectionable title, he replied: "That's what I am, and if those birds don't like it, I'll cram it down their throats!" Perhaps it is not necessary to state as a sequel that he lasted less than six months.

It is a tragedy that has been enacted too often in the field of local leadership in these few years of the new community movement. The leader who was the victim is to be pitied—but he made a mistake in one of the fundamentals of leadership. He forgot that action, to be permanent, *must be by the people.*

Every leader coming into the rural field should have as his motto, "Learn to labor and to wait." There will be plenty of both for him to do. Often he can see (or he thinks he can see) an opportunity to "get the job done" while he is waiting for them to see that it needs to be done—but he would better wait. People appreciate only what they themselves do.

Action by the people, in terms of community interest, will depend upon the development of social consciousness. Along with socialized activity, there must come socialized feeling. If a man does not care for his community, it will be very difficult to get him to associate with his neighbors in any action for local improvement. Effort for community development often calls for great personal sacrifices —and a man makes no sacrifices for anything that is not dear to him. The man who is hurrying his little girl through the rural school merely in order that, having completed the course, she may become the inefficient teacher of that or a neighboring school, and so bring back into his family some of "the good tax money" which he has been "paying out for years," will not readily grow enthusiastic over the new rural school movement which is for the sake of the community. The man who is enthusiastic for the welfare of the school because the building is on his property, and so (as he thinks) increases the value of his holdings in case he should want to borrow money or sell the place—that man will not become an enthusiastic supporter of consolidation of districts. Nor will his wife, if she realizes

the value of the nearby school in terms of the weekly stipend which she receives for boarding the teacher. The one who values the petty perquisites that come to him as a member of the board of directors of the school district will not be a supporter of the plan for a larger unit of taxation and administration.

Every problem of social life to-day is a *community* problem, and has as a prerequisite for its solution, social vision. This is as true in the realm of the new agriculture as in any other. At a chance meeting of farmers in an unsocialized community, where the conversation had been a most interesting and helpful exchange of experiences, the writer suggested that it would be well if we might meet occasionally and exchange more farm experiences and methods of doing things. A neighbor suddenly drew back into his shell and declared he would be opposed to doing so. On being pressed for a reason, he declared, doggedly, "Then when I find some good way to do something, my neighbors will get onto the secret and *take it away from me.*" Certainly that man is not quite ready to become enthusiastic over a Farm Bureau proposition.

In a word, the development of social consciousness must parallel social activity. Often the first task of the leader, with his people, is to teach and demonstrate the value of social consciousness. Nor is the leader to be discouraged if such consciousness does not develop rapidly. Let him allow history to come once again to his relief, by recalling how

many centuries it has taken social consciousness to emerge in world life even to the place where it could be recognized and given a name. Let him remember also that, even with all of his own special opportunities for wider observation and higher education, it has taken him years to come to his present social vision. Social vision, he will realize, first comes in the way of faint glimpses, and one must test the accuracy of what is seen in those faint glimpses by applying it to experiences in the objective life. This means that, of necessity, an element of *time* enters into the development of social vision. The leader must often be content to apply the inspirational treatment and the laboratory tests for a long while before the people of the community are sufficiently sure of their social consciousness to act coherently in terms not of individual, but of community life. Nothing but the awakening of a community feeling will win men to the new agricultural or industrial organization, church coöperation, school consolidation, and the other reforms that are coming into the life of the new world. All these await the development of social consciousness.

In seeking to secure ideal action along any desired line, the leader must recognize certain limitations that are peculiar to the time and place. In urging a group of boys into a hard game of ball, it would be cruel to taunt a lame boy for not making the rapid progress that boys ought to make in such a game. We recognize his limitations and probably excuse him entirely from the game. It would be

cruel to taunt a man for not hauling his wheat to market when others were hauling theirs, if his wheat, while still standing, had been destroyed by hail. We would recognize his incurable limitations, as far as that harvest was concerned.

Yet in a wheat country where years of drought had reduced the wheat farmers to penury, and where, in their own words, they were "hanging on by their teeth," a local professional leader stated in a public address that it served them right to lose and would probably be a good lesson, because now they would study the live stock business and go in for making their farms live stock farms. With great anger, one of the patrons of that leader said to me afterwards, "He acts as though we didn't have sense enough to know that we ought to have more live stock. We know it a lot better than he does. But it goes mighty hard with a fellow to pay a man to stand up and guy him about the scarcity of live stock. I have my farm and machinery mortgaged for all it will stand. I have borrowed all the money I could borrow to help keep my family during these drought years. Let him tell me how and where I am to get the money to buy live stock and put up the necessary sheds for the stock and the feed." The local leader was speaking from a perfectly right theory, but he had not recognized the insurmountable limitations of the time and place.

A school principal came into a community where (unknown to him) a series of calamities, such as drought and flood and insect pests, had robbed the

farmers of their crops for five consecutive years. Immediately he started special progressive movements, such as an expensive lecture course, to be supported by the sale of season tickets, the purchase of a moving picture outfit at an expense of two hundred and fifty dollars, to be raised by subscription, and the installing of an elaborate school library, to be paid for by the people. When the people quietly remonstrated against such proposed expenditures just at that time, he came immediately to the conclusion that they were simply ignorant of their needs along these lines, and were too parsimonious to pay money for the attaining of such ideals. He had not stopped to consider that nearly every man in the community was borrowing money at a high rate of interest to keep his family in food and clothing. The leader did not pause to recognize the limitations of the time and place. The leader must be ready to take the people as he finds them and conditions as they are; not to assume that the people are as he would like to have them and that conditions are as they ought to be.

The test of success is the measure of the distance traveled from the starting point, with due reference to peculiar handicaps. Let county, state, and national officers who have supervision over local leaders please take notice! Also, there is a large realm of progress in which results cannot be charted or tabulated with figures.

In estimating success, a leader should never con-

sider whether a certain institution in his community is further ahead in a given movement than is the same institution in another community; or whether, at a given time, this community is a better place for trade or homes or farming than is another community. The only test of success is found in this question: "Considering conditions as they were when we began the local community movement, the forces with which we had to work, and the amount of opposition which we had to meet, has the movement progressed at this time to the point which it should have reached?" You cannot tell whether a horse has done his best by the mere fact of whether or not he reached town ahead of certain other horses traveling that way. You must know, among other things, where he started, at what time he started, and what burden he had to carry.

We have been considering community development as a process of evolution, a process which will often be retarded in a way most unexpected by, and most discouraging to, the local leader. But the leader will understand that this evolution will not take place of its own accord and unguided. It must be evolution and not revolution, but it must be "*volitional* evolution." The leader must have the will that it shall evolve and the program by which it is to evolve. As in any other process of evolution, there may be long periods in which retarding influences will seem to be marking time; but when the time comes in which the process may continue,

he is to be there, ready with his community program and with all the power of his life to guide the evolution of his community to that state of perfection which shall make it a harmonious part of the new democracy.

OPPOSITION TO CHANGE

Reprinted by permission from Groves, Ernest R., "An Introduction to Sociology," p. 204. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1928.

When a crisis comes, the question whether or not it is met successfully by new ways of doing things depends upon the quality of leadership available and the willingness of the group to accept the leader who appears. Not only is something new needed. The tribe may die or be conquered because it can not adjust itself to the new departure, once it has been made. Some leader may find a method that promises survival, but his efforts to win a following may fail, bringing about tribal disaster. Since the savage is suspicious of leadership that turns away from the accustomed paths, this intolerance of unfamiliar practices becomes a serious hazard of savage culture.

In our own time there is little disposition to accept leadership that attempts to take people away from familiar habits to new and untried experiences. Many of our so-called leaders are merely followers, for they are merely reflectors of current opinion. He who heads a procession does not lead if his one object is to find its chosen line of march and keep at the front of the advancing column. Savage culture has its surprises, and, under stress, departures

are at times accepted and faithfully followed. The general trend of savage culture is unmistakably conservative and the leader who tries to change what has been, finds his task always difficult, sometimes dangerous, and often impossible.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHANGE

Reprinted by permission from Kilpatrick, William Heard, "Education for a Changing Civilization," pp. 41–49. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

That social change promises to increase so rapidly is in itself possibly the most momentous change in historic time. Up to recently the rate of change has been so slow that philosophy and morals in essential degree affect to ignore change. That time seems, however, to have passed. Change has become too obvious, too inclusive. Our young people face too clearly an unknown future. We dare not pretend that the old solutions will suffice for them. It appears that we must have a philosophy that not only takes positive recognition of the fact of change, but one that includes within it change as an essential element.

The philosophic problem of change became acute as far back as the Greeks. Heraclitus recognized it and gave change an essential place in his system, but the main drift was otherwise. Various proofs were offered that any motion was impossible. Plato apparently would have preferred to deny change altogether. He did deny it for Reality. Aristotle, who was more fact-minded, saw that change must be granted more definite recognition. From biology came his solution to the problem. Change is growth

toward a goal fixed in advance, for example, as the acorn grows into the full-grown type of oak. In this way did Aristotle seek to reconcile change with changelessness. The acorn itself is *potential* oak. The full grown oak is *actual* oak. Change was thus the process by which potentiality becomes actuality. But the species "oak" remains always the same throughout the succession of acorn—oak, acorn—oak, acorn—oak. . . . Change so conceived is orderly, decent, bounded, predictable.

With Plato's attitude toward change, we shall not be surprised to note that he was profoundly interested in founding a social state that should remain permanent. To this end, he sought to banish change from his republic. Not even the children's nursery rimes were to be subject to change lest his citizens while children should get used to the idea that change is permissible and so, growing older, should proceed to change the constitution. Nor will it surprise us that Aristotle in analogous fashion believed in a feudalistic state which, in order to survive, must keep change within confined limits. Whoever has wished to fix beyond the possibility of change certain chosen values, whether a dynasty or a doctrine, a hierarchy or an order of feudalism, has always shown a predilection for a philosophy such as Aristotle's or Plato's, which at least confines the factor of change within severely prescribed limits. It will, therefore, again not surprise us to consider that the Middle Ages, with feudalism and an authoritarian church to maintain and defend, should have

adopted Aristotelianism as its official philosophy. Through scholasticism this Aristotelianism entered into the very warp and woof of western thought. From Aristotle we derive almost all our terms by which we express exact thought, and almost all of these by a subtle indoctrination commit us to Aristotle's essential assumptions. That we are unaware of the process makes it all the more difficult to combat. It was into this state of affairs that Darwin's *Origin of Species* was cast. The outcry that was raised in opposition, while directed against certain theological implications, is probably better viewed as voicing a conflict of philosophies. To Aristotle the species was fixed, immutable, "spiritual" in its nature; and this assumption was imbedded in the essence of his system. Against this the very phrase "Origin of Species" was a frontal attack. The conception of change assumed by Darwin is one which loosens all the decent bounds of change within which Aristotle had sought to confine it. If new species have come already into existence, what of the future? There is no telling what may happen. In James' startling words, the lid is thus taken off the universe. The future is yet to be determined. No prior formulation will certainly hold in any realm. All old certainties are questioned.

It is not necessary to suppose that either Darwin or his opponents saw all these implications. But the implications were there ready to be drawn, and people seem at times to sense what they do not clearly see. Certain it is that any who feel compelled

to defend at all costs any fixed formulation, however made, must in consistent self-defense attack the doctrine of change here seen as implied in Darwin's theory. Darwinian change shakes the foundation of every vested interest of whatever kind. We need not for present purposes pursue these more theoretical questions. Certain more immediate problems are sufficiently engaging. If things are going to change thus more and more rapidly, two very pressing problems at once arise: Will civilization be able to remain stable amid this increasing change? And how shall we prepare our young people to face so unsettled a future? The educational problem we postpone. It constitutes largely the rest of the book. The other problem, that of social stability, demands attention now.

Can social stability stand amid ever increasing change? If the rate of change is to increase without limit, will there not of necessity finally come a time when change will be too rapid and society will disintegrate? Possibly so, but again let us turn from the remote theoretical problem to one more immediate and therefore more pressing, and possibly at the same time more tractable.

Various writers have made us familiar with the conception of social lags. Progress is seldom uniform. Strain comes from the uneven front thus kept. For us here, perhaps the most interesting instance of this is where through mechanical inventions new ways of living are introduced and the regulative social-moral outlook and ways of behav-

ing lag behind. Thus at the present time industrialism has greatly changed American living, but our general legal and moral outlooks remain much the same as when life was largely rural and agricultural. If mechanical inventions come with ever increasing frequency and our ways of living change accordingly, surely our moral outlook must keep abreast of other changes or society may suffer greatly. Not a very few sober thinkers judge that we are now suffering in just this way. Our moral vision and grasp seem practically unequal to the new situations that have arisen. We seem, for instance, unable to come to sufficient grips with the labor-capital question. In any industrial dispute we have no adequate social machinery whereby justice and right can surely have fair consideration. More often than not, the appeal of either side is to force, to coercion in some form or other, in order to bring the other side to its wish. This is the law of the jungle, in effect a mild form of war, at times even with difficulty held to mildness by the legal authorities of the land. Whether we blame our voters or our politicians or our statesmen or our constitutions, the result is the same. Our political machinery as it works does not discharge its new tasks. Our legal machinery also is manifestly not equal to the demands on it. Here the best expert opinion tells us that we in this country are trying to operate a twentieth-century industrial nation with the legal apparatus devised for an eighteenth-century country of farmers.

These instances of lag, a few chosen from many, illustrate the stress brought into modern social life by the increasing rapidity of change due to "material" progress. In them we see the failure of intellect and morals to grapple adequately with our ever mounting problems. This dangerous state of affairs promises to grow worse unless something stirs us to bring the moral and intellectual part of our culture more nearly abreast of progress along more material lines.

What is to be done? A figure from another field may suggest the line of attack. A spinning top not only stands upright but even resists efforts to push it over. When its motion stops, it falls. Movement itself may bring stability. In the bicycle we see an even clearer analogy to our situation. To keep it upright, we must make it run along. May there not be found an analogous "moving equilibrium" for our social affairs? Laying aside the figure, we may distinguish in the present social situation three stages of change. First, are such changes in effecting ordinary material ends as better lighting, better means of transportation, better disposal of sewage. These in turn bring about, second, such changes as the modern city with its enormous population living largely in apartment houses—conditions that in one way or another bring apparently bad effects on family life. The third change we have not so far made, namely, the satisfactory adjustments of family life to the new conditions surrounding it.

As we consider these three stages of change, most people in this country have hitherto counted it either not feasible or not desirable to hinder either the first or the second kind. Inventions and their use have on the whole been accepted and encouraged. There are, to be sure, those who attempt to resist them, but their influence is usually quite limited and in large measure death ends the effort at opposition. But it is not so with the third kind of change. When it comes to changing the hitherto customary moral-social outlook, no matter how inadequate it may have become, opposition here proves powerful.

A senseless inertia seems, too, about as effective as conscious opposition. One sad feature is that conscience easily allies itself with the lagging outlook. Well-intentioned men direct great moral energy in such way as to increase the lag. If there be such a thing as moving social equilibrium, dynamic social stability, it should belong right here and would seem to consist in the disposition and ability to keep the moral-social vision and grasp abreast of the social changes otherwise introduced. To help bring about and maintain such a dynamic equilibrium, to help develop the necessary moral vision and grasp—this, of course, is the great duty of an efficient educational system.

SOCIAL GROWTH

Reprinted by permission from Butterworth, Julian E., "Principles of Rural School Administration," pp. 31–71. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

Growth as an ultimate objective.—John Dewey's conception of growth (which implies growth in right directions) seems to have come nearest to providing an all-inclusive objective. Growth is considered not only as a means to an end, but as the end itself. It is not sufficient to produce, through growth, a man of knowledge or of culture or of character or one able to make a living or to become an effective citizen. We should seek to make a growing individual and therefore one who, because he grows, has more knowledge and more culture, makes a better living, and becomes a more effective citizen. To accept knowledge or citizenship or culture, as commonly defined, as the end of education, is to imply that when a specified standard in any one of them is attained there is no further need for education. Hence the average citizen is in danger of thinking that a person with a certain amount of knowledge, or character, or ability as a citizen or as a man of practical affairs, is the end, the ultimate development in man. Reflection convinces us that this should not be true —that no matter how able a man may be as a citizen, for instance, there is a possibility (limited of course

by his native capacities) of his becoming a better citizen if he continues to utilize his powers in adapting himself to his environment. The advantage, therefore, of using growth, broadly interpreted, as the large objective is that we always have a stimulus to the attainment of something higher. Yet, should growth come to mean improvement only in definite directions and to a specified degree, it would have the same limitations that other objectives now have.

If our civilization were static, the ideal of growth would not be so important. We could then acquire the facts and principles and develop the habits and skills that would enable us to adjust ourselves to our environment. With this equipment we could be as good a doctor or farmer or citizen as anyone else without being alert to supplement knowledge or revise principles or modify habits and skills. But nothing is more true than that our present civilization is *not* static. It is generally true, and most people appear to accept the idea, that no matter how well our activities function in meeting the problems of life there is a chance for improvement either because we see where better adjustment may be made or because changes in the environment make other adjustment desirable.

Clearly such a conception does not imply radical procedures; rather it involves a careful, orderly analysis of the situation, a search for means to meet the needs of the situation, and a testing of those means. Old materials, ideas, and practices are to be utilized—built upon—rather than ignored.

Some illustrations of growth.—In school the child learns the fundamental arithmetical operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. After understanding these operations he drills on them, gradually increasing the complexity or broadening the application of the problems in which they are involved. He acquires concepts of decimals, of aliquot parts, of cancellation, and of proportion. Soon he is applying these operations and concepts to the measurement of surfaces, volume, weight, and time. He keeps accounts, makes out bills, and computes arithmetical problems in his daily life and, analyzing the processes involved, applies his accumulation of knowledge to their solution. The problem of the teacher of arithmetic is to discover the best available materials and to use the most effective methods to secure development with her particular group of pupils.

At home, the farm or village boy undertakes to raise a small field of potatoes. The project, being concrete and definite, gives him a motive to carry on the activities involved. Certain old habits such as harnessing a team, ploughing, and cultivating are utilized, drilled, and possibly modified. New facts and principles dealing with the chemicals to be used in treating the seed, the time of planting, the frequency of cultivation, the destruction of insects, the most economical methods of harvesting the crop, and the storage of it, are collected from various sources —home, school, and books. These are utilized as the need for them arises and are assimilated for future

use. The boy has to do much thinking in which the facts and principles just enumerated are employed. Thus he tends to develop confidence in his ability to deal with farm problems, to understand something of the labor and thought necessary in making a successful farmer, and to feel a greater respect for the occupation. He has had an opportunity to test his vocational interests; has perhaps gained an insight into the wonders of nature; and has seen something of the interdependence of social groups as illustrated in the supplying of food and the development of a system of exchange. He has learned the value of money, and will save or expend more intelligently because of that fact. Though his particular problem is primarily vocational, growth has not been limited to vocational efficiency. The boy has acquired facts, principles, attitudes, and even habits that may be utilized in many other situations. His ability to meet new situations has increased.

The farm family takes a Saturday afternoon trip to town. Many other families are there, and the boy sees that his father cannot park his car where he will, but must leave it where it will interfere least with the movement of traffic. He sees a tractor demonstration and glimpses the development of a new source of farm power. While the parents are attending a Grange meeting, he walks up and down the street peering in the store windows. A 15-shot 22-caliber rifle; a wonderful fishing rod; a pair of hip-boots; a beautiful white washbasin with pipes for bringing in and carrying off the water; a suit of

clothes just his size with a cap to match—each in turn catches his eye, is studied, stimulates a longing for possession, and is put into the background of consciousness. A game of ball on a vacant lot attracts his attention. After a time he is invited to participate. A difficult fly to the far left which he catches brings the approval of his fellow players. He decides that the town boys are really rather nice, not "stuck-up" as he had imagined when he saw them before with their neat clothes, their less awkward manner, and their apparent clannishness. Then comes supper at the restaurant. Finally, at a motion picture show he sees the *Sea Wolf,* which he has read no less than a dozen times, a rubber plantation in South America, the funeral of a great English leader, "bringing in" an oil well in California, and packing and shipping apples in Oregon. At home again he relives for many days the experiences of the Saturday afternoon. He speculates on the meaning of many things he saw. His ambition to taste further is aroused.

These three samples of the many types of experiences that may be encountered give us some idea of what we mean when we speak of an education for growth. There are new situations; a utilization of all previous experience in the interpretation of these new situations; as the result of this interpretation, additions to previous knowledge, aims, skills, and appreciations; an increased ability to meet yet more situations; and a satisfaction that comes from a

realization that one's powers are constantly expanding.

The fundamental condition of growth.—The fundamental condition of growth is the modifiability of the organism. Growth is made possible by the fact that the nervous system may be impressed, that those impressions may be retained and associated, and that the resulting modifications may be utilized in interpreting new experiences at the same time that they give way to new modifications because of those experiences.

Chief factors in growth.—Growth is such a complex process that it is difficult to know all the factors involved, and the interrelations of these factors are so intricate that it is impossible at the present time to measure the effect of any one alone. The *impulses*—curiosity, hunger, fear, desire for mastery, and the like—are fundamental to growth, for they show that the organism is not merely remaining passive, but is reaching out to satisfy its desires. *Habits* are both a help and a hindrance. Skill in reading enables the individual to utilize the written thoughts of others. One who raises potatoes must develop certain skills of a vocational type, such as harnessing a team, driving it, and handling the plow. At the same time, habits that are established so thoroughly that they may not be modified when the situation changes are a hindrance to growth. One grows also through the *knowledge* he acquires. The more information one possesses about a problem the more likely, other factors being equal, he is to suc-

ceed in solving it. *Thinking* is one of the most important factors. Through experience one learns to compare facts, to see likenesses and differences, to draw out and state the common element in them and the significance of this common element. *Real situations,* as contrasted with the typical book situations of the school, stimulate growth. The concreteness makes the significance of the experience clearer: it arouses more interest; gives a better opportunity to check the results of thought; gives (in certain types of cases) muscular development and coördination; and brings satisfaction because the result of the energy expended is more obvious. So projects of various kinds—making a poultry house, organization of a potato association, going to a school election, improving a schoolhouse—call for *activity* which brings growth to the persons participating. *Variety* of experiences means greater opportunity for the individual concerned to get facts, develop habits, modify habits in a constantly expanding life, think in new situations, and participate in such situations.

Popularly, an *aim* is an end to be achieved and, having been achieved, activity in that connection ceases. Hence there are persons who establish aims or ideals, and having attained those aims or ideals, cease to grow in those directions. Actually, however, an aim is not an end but a guide to activity. It indicates the way in which our energy should be directed; it tends to prevent diffusion of energy; but the aim having been reached, the progressive in-

dividual will set up other aims as a guide to further activity. So the boy may undertake a calf project because other boys are doing likewise; later he may establish as his aim the earning of spending money; testing his vocational interests and ability; showing his father how to improve his methods of farming; carrying on research in that field of knowledge. So, too, a principle should not be considered as an authoritative rule of procedure, derived from some universal, ultimate source, but rather a tentative conclusion, an hypothesis, to test out the effectiveness of certain proposed courses of action. Conditions are constantly changing because of the discovery of new facts, the utilization of new procedures, or the development of new viewpoints. *An attitude of seeking for a better adaptation* to conditions of life is important. So long as we have such an attitude we shall be alert to the acquiring of new facts, the modification of habits in terms of new situations, the seeking of new experiences, the development of new attitudes, and the setting up of new aims and principles. So long as these conditions prevail we shall be growing.

Specific objectives.—To set up an ultimate objective in education as a general guide is important. But it is not sufficient. We must have, in addition, specific guides by which we evaluate and direct our daily activities. When we accept growth as the ultimate objective, we must then determine in what ways we should grow and the methods and materials that may best be used for attaining those ends.

We shall find the answer to this question of the directions in which we should grow by analyzing the demands and opportunities in life itself. Each of us, as he goes through life, has certain situations to face as a citizen, as a parent, as a friend, as a seeker of happiness, as a worker in his particular field of labor. Such situations not only lay obligations upon us but create opportunities for getting greater satisfaction out of life. An analysis of life into its constituent obligations and opportunities may be expected, therefore, to reveal the objectives of education.

It may be conducive to clearness if we think of levels among objectives. At one level we may say that we, living in these days and under these social conditions, should grow in ability to meet the four major obligations of: (1) home; (2) vocation; (3) civic life; (4) other social responsibilities as represented by school, church, fraternal organization, and the like. These duties should then be further analyzed into their constituent activities, both those actually performed and those to be desired.

Or, we may make a somewhat more specific analysis of our life duties and so choose objectives similar to those presented by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education: (1) health; (2) command of the fundamental processes, such as reading and writing; (3) worthy home membership; (4) civic participation; (5) worthy use of leisure; (6) ethical character; and (7) vocation. Each of these should then be analyzed into its specific ob-

jectives. In health education we should seek such objectives as *knowledge* of the body and how it works; *principles* of sanitation and hygiene, *ideals* of a body in perfect condition, and *habits* that safeguard health. Thus we should be led to consider such problems as diet, air, exercise, recreation, and sewage disposal; and to develop such habits as brushing the teeth, chewing food thoroughly, and taking frequent baths. These latter constitute specific objectives, which, when attained, contribute to the achievement of health, one of the large obligations of man.

If a boy has determined to enter the vocation of farming, he will necessarily have to learn how to engage in the many activities involved in that field of labor. If he is to be a general farmer, there will be one set of duties; if a peach grower, another set; if a poultry man, yet another. There are, of course, many overlapping activities, but the major duties are different. The important thing, however, for us to recognize is that in training the boy for his vocation we cannot be content to teach him merely what farmers do now. Some of them neglect what they ought to do, such as keeping up the fences and testing the seed corn; some of them do things they ought not; and some use inferior methods in certain of their activities. Training the boy to become a good farmer means that present activities should be supplemented by ideals as to how those activities may be improved. In setting up these ideals in certain farming duties, one would naturally turn to the

scientific investigations that have been made on those problems. But in some fields exact measurement is as yet difficult or impossible. Hence, in selecting activities that would make for worthy use of leisure, one would consult not only his own desires but the general standards of those about him. That differences in ideals and, therefore, differences in activities, exist is to be expected, particularly in fields not capable of exact measurement.

Two extremes are to be avoided. On the one hand, we should remember that the very specific objectives found through detailed analysis of activities are most significant as they are related to larger objectives in education. Adding accurately, spelling correctly, and writing legibly are desirable ends, resulting in habits, because they enable us to meet important life situations. But many specific objectives, as for example, a knowledge of cube root, learning the bones of the body, and spelling such words as "calash" have been modified during the last generation because conditions of life have changed or the worth of these particular activities has been differently evaluated. Relating specific objectives to larger ones and to such an ultimate one as growth tends to prevent our becoming static in our specific attitudes functioning in the actual situations of life. Growth shoots through and through all lesser objectives and all activities; wisely interpreted, it vitalizes all those activities leading us to seek new levels of achievement.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION AS CONTINUITY OF ACHIEVEMENT

Reprinted by permission from Ward, Lester F., "Pure Sociology," pp. 15–17; 20; 22; 25–26; 31; 34–36. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

My thesis is that the subject-matter of sociology is human *achievement*. It is not what men are, but what they do. It is not the structure, but the function. Sociologists are nearly all working in the department of social anatomy, when they should turn their attention to social physiology. Most of them have imbibed the false notion that sociology is dynamic, and is in some way connected with social progress. They scarcely dare inquire what social physiology is, for fear that it may involve them in questions of social reform. But physiology is merely function. It is what structures and organs do, what they were made to do, the only purpose they have. Structures and organs are only means. Function is the end. It is therefore easy to see how much more important physiology is than anatomy. The latter is, of course, a necessary study, since functions cannot be performed without organs; but it is in the nature of preparation, and can be relegated to one or other of the special social sciences, which, as I have shown, supply the data for the study of sociology. The principal sources of such data are his-

tory, demography, anthropology, psychology, biology, civics, and economics; but all the sciences contribute to that highest science, social physiology.

To be less technical, but really repeat the same thing, sociology is concerned with social *activities*. It is a study of action, *i.e.*, of *phenomena*. It is not a descriptive science in the naturalist's sense—a science that describes objects looked upon as finished products. It is rather a study of how the various social products have been created. These products, once formed, become permanent. They are never lost. They may be slowly modified and perfected, but they constitute the basis for new products, and so on indefinitely. Viewed from the evolutionary standpoint, the highest types of men stand on an elevated platform which man and nature working together have erected in the long course of ages. This is not only true of our time, but it has been true of all times. The most advanced of any age stand on the shoulders, as it were, of those of the preceding age; only with each succeeding age the platform is raised a degree higher. The platforms of previous ages become the steps in the greater staircase of civilization, and these steps remain unmoved, and are perpetuated by human history.

Or, to change the figure, the human polyp is perpetually building a coral reef, on the upper surface of which the last generation lives and builds. The generations live and die, but they leave behind them the result of all that they accomplished when living. This result is a permanent part of the great ocean

bed of human achievement. As time goes on, these successive additions, superimposed the one upon the other, form the bed-rock of civilization. They become lithified, as it were, and constitute the strata of the psychozoic age of the world, through which the true historian, like the geologist, cuts his sections and lays bare in profile the successive stages of human culture.

It is this fact of permanent human achievement that makes the broad distinction between animal and human societies. Just as there is a radical difference between cosmic and organic evolution, so there is a radical difference between organic and social evolution. The formula that expresses this distinction the most clearly is that *the environment transforms the animal, while man transforms the environment.* Now it is exactly this transformation of the environment that constitutes achievement. The animal achieves nothing. The organic world is passive. It is acted upon by the environment and adapted to it. And, although it is true that in the structural modifications that constitute such adaptation the efforts and activities of the organism play a prominent part, still even this is only a reflex response to the pressure from without, and really constitutes a part of the environment. Man, on the contrary, as a psychically developed being, and in increasing degrees in proportion to his psychic development, is active and assumes the initiative, molding nature to his own use.

There has been no important organic change in

man during the historic period. The trifling physical difference which we attribute to differences of environment acting on man during a century or two, would have no diagnostic value in biology. He is no more fleet of foot, keen of vision, or strong in muscle and tendon than he was when Herodotus wrote. Yet his power of vision has been enormously increased by all the applications of the lens, his power of locomotion has been multiplied by the invention of propelling machines, and his strength has become almost unlimited by calling the forces of nature to his assistance. Tools are vastly more effective than teeth or claws. The telescope and the microscope completely dwarf all natural organs of sight. Railroads are fair substitutes for wings, and steamships for fins. In the electric transmission of thought across continents and seas he has developed an organ of which no animal possesses a rudiment. Yet all this is less practically useful than the increased means of production that have resulted from a long series of inventions. It is all the result of man's power to transform the environment. The artificial modification of natural phenomena is the great characteristic fact in human activity. It is what constitutes achievement. No animal is capable of it. Some superficial observers seem to see in the nest of birds, the dam of beavers, the honeycomb of the bees, and the various more or less complicated habitations of certain rodents and other animals, an analogy to the achievements of man. But these all lack the essential element of permanence. They cannot be called

artificial, and it is their artificial character that distinguishes the results of human activity.

Civilization may be regarded either as an unconscious or as a conscious process, according to the point of view. The efforts and activities that have raised man from round to round of the ladder may be looked upon as the results of the inherent forces of his nature, and hence unconscious and cosmic. Or, the civilizing acts of man may be looked upon as the results of will, ideas, and intelligent aspirations for excellence, and hence conscious and personal. The first of these viewpoints has been erected into a science, and is sometimes appropriately called *mesology*. Human history thus becomes a simple extension of natural history. This is regarded as the scientific view *par excellence*. It is, however, mainly true that man has risen by dint of his own efforts and activities. . . .

But it is time to inquire more specially what the products of achievement are. The chief failure to understand them is due to the false and superficial view that they consist in material goods, or wealth. This is the fallacy upon which chiefly rests the notion that human society differs from animal society only in degree. Because welfare is so largely dependent on wealth, it is natural to suppose that wealth is the main condition to progress. There is a sense in which this is true, but to say that wealth is a product of achievement involves an ellipsis. Material goods, as, for example, food, clothing, and shelter, are, it is true, the ends; but the real products

of achievement are means. They are the means to these ends, and not the ends themselves. . . .

Achievement does not consist in wealth. Wealth is fleeting and ephemeral. Achievement is permanent and eternal. And now mark the paradox. Wealth, the transient, is material; achievement, the enduring, is immaterial. The products of achievement are not material things at all. As said before, they are not ends but means. They are methods, ways, principles, devices, arts, systems, institutions. In a word, they are *inventions*. Achievement consists in invention in the Tardean sense. It is anything and everything that rises above mere imitation or repetition. Every such increment to civilization is a permanent gain, because it is imitated, repeated, perpetuated, and never lost. It is chiefly mental or psychical, but it may be physical in the sense of skill. The earlier developments of civilizing influences consisted mainly in these, and such accounts as we have consist in descriptions of the physical feats of heroes. But mere muscular strength soon yields to cunning and skill. These do not achieve until they begin to create. Language itself was an achievement of stupendous import, and every one of the steps it has taken—gesture, oral, written, printed forms of language—has marked an epoch in the progress of man. Literature has become one of the great achievements. Art, too, is an achievement upon which we need not dwell. Philosophy and science must be ranked as achievements, vast and far-reaching in their consequence. The invention of

tools, instruments, utensils, missiles, traps, snares and weapons comes under this head, crowned by the era of machinofacture, artificial locomotion, and electric intercommunication. . . .

Finally, it may be said in general that all human institutions are achievements. Even those that we now consider bad, even those that have been abolished, were useful in the wider sense in their day and age. The fact that they were developed and actually came into existence proves to the sociologist that they must have served a purpose. But there is really no such thing as abolishing an institution. Institutions change their character to adapt them to their time, and the successive forms may take different names, and be no longer recognized as the same as the institutions out of which they have developed, but the fundamental principle which underlies them is common to them all, and may usually be traced through the entire series of changes that an institution may have undergone. The term *institution* is capable of such expansion as to embrace all human achievement, and in this enlarged sense institutions become the chief study of the sociologist. All achievements are institutions, and there is a decided gain to the mind in seeking to determine the true subject-matter of sociology, to regard human institutions and human achievement as synonymous terms, and as constituting, in the broadest sense of both, the field of research of a great science.

These products of achievement that we have been considering have one fundamental condition, without

which they would have been impossible. They absolutely require *social continuity*. . . .

It must be clear, from all that has been said, that the essential characteristic of all achievement is some form of *knowledge*. But knowledge, unlike capacity, cannot be transmitted through heredity. The germ-plasm can only carry the ancestral strains of parents to their offspring and descendants, and, whether "acquired characters" can be thus transmitted or not, it is certain that acquired knowledge is a "character" that does not descend in that way. It has to be acquired anew by every member of society. If it is not thus acquired, it is lost to that member. But, as all achievement is knowledge, to be saved it must be transmitted in some way. The process by which achievement is handed down may be aptly called *social heredity*. This social heredity is the same thing that I have otherwise denominated *social continuity*, and it is the absolute necessity of social continuity that restricts the science of sociology to that great line of social development in which there has been no break in the transmission of achievement. We thus have the continuity of the social germ-plasm, which is as good an analogy as the organicists have discovered. The social germplasm is that Promethean fire which has been passed on from age to age, warming the world into life with its glow, and lighting it with its flame through all the long night of the past into the daybreak of the present.

A few rare minds have dimly seen that civilization

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consists in the cumulative light of knowledge. The most celebrated expression of this truth is that of Pascal in which he says that "the entire series of men during the course of all the ages is to be considered as if it were one and the same man who has always lived and has been constantly learning." Pascal seems to have derived the idea from St. Augustine, of whom he was an ardent admirer and a close student. Bacon has expressed a similar view, and something very close to it occurs frequently in Condorcet's "Equisse" in connection with his favorite doctrine of the perfectability of the human race. Herder also entertained similar ideas.

But this conception is only an approach toward the truth. It falls short of what has actually taken place in the world. It indicates the length but not the breadth of civilization. No one man, however wise, and though immortal, could have accomplished what all men have accomplished. This brings us in full view of one of the most important and at the same time most neglected factors of social evolution, viz., that of individuality in achievement. It is another aspect of the truth we encountered in the last chapter that it is inequality that has broadened and enriched civilization as it has broadened and enriched science. Civilization advances in much the same way that science advances. It is not the work of any one man, but of thousands of men. Each one of these thousands does a somewhat different work from any other. This is due to the natural inequalities of man, chiefly to varied intellectual capacities

and attainments which cause them to follow different and almost infinitely varied lines and produce correspondingly varied results. This causes the enormous superiority of all men over any one man. Human achievement may be compared to a great modern city with its buildings of unequal shapes, sizes, and heights, its columns, monuments, domes, towers, and spires differing in all conceivable ways, and yet denoting a still more endless variety of activities and social operations. If we take up the study of any one particular line, it matters not what, we shall find lesser lights and great lights characterizing the history of its development. Different schools of art represented by great masters, each of which has added something to the work of all the rest; schools of architecture, of sculpture, of painting, of music, types of poetry and prose literature; systems of philosophy; world views and religious systems; qualitative and quantitative powers of perceiving utilities, resulting in innumerable inventions and arts—are due to natural inequalities in men. It is thus that civilization acquires its volume and that it becomes that infinitely complex and varied field of study which the sociologist finds before him.

Chapter IV

LEADING BY INDIRECT METHODS

THE purpose of leadership is to get certain things accomplished in the realm of personal character and community action. The writer had been speaking to a group of teachers at a meeting of their County Association. He had talked of "the teacher as a community leader." During the conference, a slip of a girl just beginning her first year as a school teacher and eager to "make good," propounded the question: "How am I to give those folks out there in my school district to understand that I *am* the leader?" The answer was: "If you should succeed with your projects for community development without them ever being given to understand that you *are* the leader, consider your success the greater from that fact."

Rightly or wrongly, much of the training of our democracy has given the people a tendency to rebel against leadership. Because of their traditional independence, the people in an average American community are likely to resent any attitude that might be interpreted as "overlordship." Right at this point, the natural and commendable desire of every leader to have the worth of his work recognized by those whom he leads runs counter to the tendency

of people in the average community. When a man has "sweat blood" to see certain good results brought about, and his months and perhaps years of struggling and agonizing have brought about these needed results, he certainly may be excused if he shall say, "See what I as leader of this movement have brought about!" But such an attitude, either during the progress of a movement or when the goal has been reached, is fatal to the leader's further influence and often also to further progress in that community.

The wise leader, though he may be doing all the work himself, will make it seem that others are doing it, and when the results are gained and recognized he will allow others to have all the credit that the community cares to give them. His reward is in fulfilling successfully the purpose of community leadership; that is, "to get certain things accomplished in the realm of personal character and community action."

It must be admitted that, in following this plan of leadership by indirection, the entire organized system of society is often against him. Those who have supervision and authority in the system expect the local leader to "deliver the goods," "produce results," and "make good." They judge whether they are to be satisfied that he has met the requirements indicated by these expressions, according to certain reports which he is unblushingly to make concerning his own wonderful record. Also, he may add to his professional standing by preserving news-

paper publicity stories telling of the marvelous results which his leadership has brought in his local community. This entirely forced attitude does more toward making the community movement fail than any one other factor.

A young man, zealous for success and sincere in his love for humankind, went out from a State Agricultural College as often as his student duties would permit, to be of service in a country town nearby. His efforts were untiring and, largely through his leadership and the splendid response of the farmers of the neighborhood to that leadership, there developed the organization of a Farmers' Institute, the beginnings of a literary society, and the embryonic stage of a church federation. He came to be looked upon as something of a leader, and his stunt was considered as a good "story." The paper in the college town wrote up the story, and it was submitted to him for approval; he found every word of it true to fact, felt justly proud of the recognition of his success, and approved the publication of the article.

For a few brief days after the article appeared he enjoyed his new-found glory and the congratulations of his friends. But his joy was turned to chagrin when he next went to his local field of service and met the reproachful and mistrustful looks of his country friends as they showed him copies of the paper which had come into their own homes, and asked him to say whether he had any knowledge of the intended publication of such an article. From

that viewpoint, it seemed so different to read something like this:

WAKES UP A SLEEPING PEOPLE

How a College Student Put New Life into a Dead Neighborhood

The people of the B—— community had been sleeping peacefully for the last twenty years, ignorant of the fact that the world about them was progressing. The once hopeful and prosperous town had become practically dead, etc. Finally Mr. L—— [of such and such ability and fame] went out to the community. He awoke the people from their Rip Van Winkle sleep and raised the town from the dead, etc.

It is needless to say that he soon ceased his work of leadership in that community, and the socializing movement in that area received a setback from which it did not begin to recover for many years, and from which it will never fully recover.

This attempt to "make a record"—an attempt which is too often encouraged by state and national leaders, is injurious to some of the best socializing movements of the time. The secretary of an annual Community Institute, fostered by the Agricultural College, had written to headquarters that it seemed best to have no Institute "this year," as there was no building in which to hold it. From another source, the word came that the pastor of a certain church would allow the Institute to convene in that building. This word was sent to the secretary, with the suggestion that he see the pastor of that church and make proper arrangements.

His reply came posthaste and bluntly to this ef-

fect: "That minister has been persistently trying to capture our Institute and make it a part of his own church, so as to add to his own influence as a leader. It was his determination to have the Institute in his church that caused us, rather than to have any trouble about the matter, to drop the Institute for this year altogether."

That church leader was more interested in securing for himself a recognized position of leadership than he was in "getting certain things accomplished in the realm of personal character and community action." He could have accomplished untold good if, when he knew that there was an objection to meeting in his church he had—instead of urging the matter—quietly secured the use of a vacant store building and induced the owner to offer it to the Institute people for their meetings, making the owner pledge himself not to use the leader's name in connection with the transaction.

A leader came into one of our towns which seemed to be breathing its last. He had a vision of making the town a suburban trading and residence center. He inspired the people with the same vision. The movement, once started, gained great impetus. Among other good features, the merchants all along the two blocks of the business section tore out the old-fashioned fronts and placed modern plate glass fronts in the stores. In the meantime, the leader who started the movement and led it in its early stages had gone to other parts.

Three years afterwards he met by chance a mer-

chant from the old town, and complimented him upon the progress of the movement. He almost made the fatal error of proudly claiming leadership by saying, "You see, it only needed someone to *start* things——" But the merchant, falling into the same pit, interrupted him by declaring, "Yes, sir! Nothing was doing until *I* started things by putting in a new glass front: then all of the merchants followed my leadership, and then the whole town waked up."

"Yes," replied the real leader, grown wiser within the few moments, "it's just as I was saying. It only needed a man like you to start things. Good-bye—and I know you will keep right on leading those people to better things."

There are many reasons why it is conducive to the greater welfare of the leader himself to lead by indirection. An important factor that needs to be taken into consideration is the well-known jealousy aroused by leadership that is too apparent. We boys at school used to have a game which we called "King on the Throne." The throne was a big pile of cinders. The game was for the boy who thought he could stay on top of the pile to take his place there. Then the other boys rushed to put him off the throne. The boy who finally pulled him off the pile took his place, and the game proceeded as before.

We find leaders among "Kings" playing at this game of dethroning overtowering and self-conscious leaders since the dawn of history. Not only men,

but even the lower animals, play at the game. The writer has seen two "fights to the finish" in this game among animals. Once, while riding a broncho on the Idaho range, he came upon a herd of cattle that were witnessing an actual animal gladiatorial combat. A young and ambitious bull had wandered from another range and come upon a herd which he sought to join. The game of "King on the Throne" began, for the young bull decided to dethrone the leader. After a bloody contest youth won, and the old leader was lost among the common herd.

The other occasion will be remembered by residents along the seashore in San Francisco. The big bull seal on Seal Rocks had been the leader of that band of seals for many years. Any one looking at the seals from the windows of the old Cliff House could tell that he was leader. But one day a young bull from Faralon Islands swam across to the mainland, and started the game of "King on the Throne." The old bull seal lost his place of leadership; the last I knew of him, the taxidermists had placed his body in the museum.

Wherever life approaches the primitive, there is this tendency to "kill the leader." A great Leader, who was himself killed because of jealousy for his leadership, warned other leaders against this danger, and gave some good advice to them for their protection. They were to take low places at feasts and wait to be invited up higher. They were not to judge too harshly lest others turn on them

and pick flaws in them also. They were not to throw precious stones to hogs who didn't know the value of precious stones—not because it would waste precious stones or disappoint the hogs—but because the unappreciative hogs would turn and tear the leader to pieces.

At any rate, it seems clear that the leader has a right to protect himself from this danger of destruction through jealousy, and one way to protect himself is by "leading through indirection."

There is another tendency which should encourage the leader to lead by indirection. It is the tendency of people, when a man seems to pose as the leader who is accomplishing all things, gradually to leave off work themselves, and let him bear all the burdens. The caricature of the leader pulling the omnibus and the community riding inside could be made more ridiculous by giving the animal in the shafts long ears. It is usually his own "mule-headedness" and determination to seem to be doing everything that has brought about the result that he is left to do everything. Many a leader has worked himself into ill health and finally nervous prostration by a gratification of this desire to make his *direct* leadership noticeable to all observers.

Even if such direct leadership can succeed, it will work against the permanent welfare of his beloved community when he, through any cause, leaves the neighborhood in which he has been leader. Here, again, the prospective leader must search his heart for the real motives actuating him to his position

of leadership. If he is trying to "make a record" the outstanding publicity of which will secure him a better position at higher pay, he will not care greatly what happens to the community after he has left it. It will be an easy matter to lay the blame of any later untoward results at the door of the people or of the leader who follows him. If he is attempting to "get certain things accomplished in the realm of personal character and community action," he will not be thinking of the "record" he is making but entirely of the accomplishment of these "worth-while" things. A rural leader may allow himself to be made president of the Farmers' Union, Secretary of the Farmers' Institute, President of the Community Club, Secretary of the Live Stock Breeders' Association, Treasurer of the Rural Credit Association—and may glory in the power of leadership displayed by successfully bearing in this way the entire burden of the community's organized life. Then, when he leaves it for leadership in another field, the entire structure of that community's organized life falls.

On the other hand, he may urge some farmer who has the proper stuff in him, but has never been pushed to the front, to be president of the Farmers' Union. He may train some young fellow who is a farm laborer, to be secretary of the Farmers' Institute. He may diplomatically bring it about that a country merchant is made president of the Community Club. He may get some young man who has never been a leader, but who loves live stock, to be

secretary of the Live Stock Breeders' Association. He may see to it that all of these organizations are properly correlated with the Farm Bureau and under the direction of the County Agent—and when he leaves the community, there will be a permanent, growing organized life that will go on very well without him. Nor need he fear for the results to himself personally; those from the outside who want really *big* leadership are looking for just his sort. He is the real community builder—the "empire builder" of the modern time. He has realized the purpose of leadership.

The cause of community organization will suffer if it has leaders who are "grandstanders." It needs leaders who will lead by indirection so quietly and discreetly that, while society will recognize in future years the marvel of the structure, it will not now be too apparent who is the architect and mechanic.

The leader should lead by indirection because it is just to others to allow them to share the success of leadership. Not only is it just, but it is essential if the professional leader is permanently to maintain an efficient corps of associate leaders. This developing of qualities of leadership among the average people in the community is one of the tasks of professional leadership. Men who will be efficient school directors, or aggressive church trustees, or effective directors of the Chamber of Commerce—of such the average community has recently been suffering a serious lack. The lack will continue to be

suffered if the professional leader refuses to lead by putting forward associates in the work and allowing them to share in the honor attached thereto. To make a man bear responsibility, and then let him feel the warm glow of public appreciation, is the best possible means of stimulating him to undertake tasks which he never would have undertaken except through such a process.

It is forgivable in the leader that, as a means of training, he should make his associates believe they have attained the entire success of an undertaking, even though he may know that such success was quite entirely due to his own supervision. Men need the strengthening that comes with feeling that they can do something. Moreover, no professional leader does attain success except by the coöperation of his associates, and he has no right to rob them of the honor which belongs to them. Occasionally we see an overtowering man who deliberately claims for himself all the good results obtained by his helpers. The latter remain weaklings; and, though they may in a way fear and even admire their leader, yet they cordially hate him. In the hour when the cause which he represents needs added leadership, it is found that his injustice to his associates has reacted against them, himself, and the beloved cause.

The likelihood of the failure of any given project is another reason why the leader should lead by indirection. It is not necessary or commendable that the general should ride at the head of the column

ready to be the first and chief victim. Just as it is only fair to his associates that the leader should grant to them a part of the honor of success, so it is only just to the leader that his associates should take to themselves a part of the dishonor of failure.

Any particular project undertaken is likely to fail, either through mismanagement or from entirely outside and unforeseen causes. Unfortunately, neither the people nor state and national overseers have come to look with a proper attitude upon this seeming failure of any given project. If an original investigator goes into the chemical laboratory to test the truth of a certain theory in which he has faith, and by experiment demonstrates to himself and all interested that the truth of the theory cannot be substantiated by laboratory results, it is not announced that he has failed; it is recorded only that he has demonstrated that a certain theory is not true to fact. But if a local professional leader goes into a community and undertakes a project which fails to produce the anticipated results, it is checked up against him as a failure for which he must assume the full blame. It may be that the failure was due to elements over which he had absolutely no control, but both his overhead leaders and the people say, "He is an unreliable leader. He undertook this project and failed dismally."

Now, a leader might be able to withstand the results of a few such failures, but during the course of years these will accumulate, and their burden may finally pull him down. Since, as a rule, they

are not his own failures but are loaded upon him simply because he is the leader, it is perfectly just that he should lead his projects by indirection through others. There is rare common sense for the protection of the leader in an old injunction—"Let him who would be leader among you be servant of all."

METHODS OF POLITICIAN AND REFORMER

Reprinted by permission from Hart, Hornell, "The Science of Social Relations," p. 304. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927.

The difference between the skillful politician and the reformer may be said to be chiefly that the politician attains leadership by expanding the personalities of his followers, while the reformer attempts to control affairs by attacking the expanded personalities of the politicians. The motive of the politician too often is anti-social, but he proceeds by essentially social methods. He has learned the art of building up loyalties by giving opportunities to function, by relieving tragic strains and pressures, by sharing the interests and activities of his constituents. The reformer, on the other hand, while his motives are likely to be highly altruistic, is apt to proceed by the method of attack, generating antagonism instead of building loyalty. When the altruist learns to attain his ends by methods which expand the personalities of the people with whom he deals—when, in other words, he uses creative accommodation—political reform may be expected to advance with giant strides.

THE "SOCIETY OF THE PEOPLE"

From "The Story of John Frederic Oberlin" by A. F. Beard, Copyrighted by The Pilgrim Press. Used by permission.

(*Note*—John Frederic Oberlin was pastor in the Vosges Mountains during the French Revolution. The stress of the times made it necessary for him to use great diplomacy in continuing his work. By *indirect* methods he achieved what would have been impossible by direct methods.)

Events were now moving very swiftly in France. The war which had begun under the king was all the more urgent under the Republic. The army sent a deputation to the revolutionary convention in session to thank it "for having reduced them to the necessity of conquering." It was war without now, and a "Reign of Terror" within. "If 1789 was the revolution of justice, 1793 was the revolution of hatred," writes Jules Simon. It had come to this, a revolution of hatred, and the far-away hills of the Vosges were not too remote to realize their share of it. With the government of Robespierre and the Jacobins, the religion of Jesus Christ was formally proscribed and all Christian worship was prohibited. There was to be no God and there were to be no churches. During these dreadful

times almost all men of learning were arrested. Pastors saved their lives by flight. The brother of Oberlin was in prison. Oberlin himself was compelled to close his church and his life was in peril, but he determined to remain where he was. His foresight found him with a mechanic's license which he had obtained a year previous, not knowing then what might eventuate. As an artisan, he immediately organized a club named "The People's Society," and arranged for a meeting with the club in the discontinued churches. A board was selected from the people of the villages and the gatherings were held in strict parliamentary form. Some motion concerning the public welfare would be considered, when the president of the club would invite Oberlin to remark upon it. This gave him an opportunity to whip Satan soundly without calling him by name, and to expound the Beatitudes and the teachings of "The Sermon on the Mount" without directly indicating their source and inspiration. He thus records his condition: "I was prohibited all public functions by the revolutionary government, and I established a club in the place of divine service to enable us to continue our assembly." Its formation is thus given: "When the National Convention passed its decree prohibiting public worship and requiring a 'Public Orator' to enforce the principles of liberty and to denounce the tyrants, a meeting of the people was held, a club was formed, and one of the schoolmasters was elected president. He at once proposed Citizen Oberlin as the Public Ora-

tor, which was carried unanimously. 'Now,' said the Orator, 'the next business is to fix a place and a day of meeting. It seems to me that there is no place in all this district so convenient as that which has heretofore been used for public worship.' This was approved. 'As to the day of assembly,' continued the Orator, 'we cannot fix Monday, Wednesday, or Friday because they are market days at Strasburg; what do you think of the old Sunday at nine o'clock in the morning?' This was carried unanimously. Accordingly, on the next Sunday, the citizen Orator used the pulpit as a tribune, and beginning by reading the National Convention Decree, proceeded as follows: 'According to this decree, I am to exhort you against *the tyrants,* and we are to confer for their destruction. Here in our peaceful valley we certainly have no such tyrants as the Convention describes, and it would be useless for me to speak about them. But I can name and describe to you other tyrants who live not only in this valley but in your own houses, aye, even in your hearts. These tyrants are hatred, avarice, impurity, fleshly lusts, impiety, and pride. These are the tyrants I shall denounce here, and I shall confer with you on the best means of bringing them down. I believe the best and the only means now and to all eternity are repentance towards God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.' '' In this form he met the "Decree."

Madame de Stein, in her *Souvenirs of Alsatia,*

gives some picturesque details of one of these club meetings:

"Desiring to be present at one of these, we determined to go to Fouday. When we arrived, the people were already assembled at the parish church. We found the benches all occupied by club men, excise officers, and women. Above and all around is a gallery where the organ was, and the young people were. The pulpit was at the right. The service had begun. The hymns had already been sung, to our regret. We shared the benches. The examination of the boys and girls was at that moment on 'The Rights of Man,' which they knew by heart. The girls answered questions with gentleness and modesty, but the boys, with such martial tones that I felt they would know how to defend their rights and be guardians of liberty. It reminded me of the chorus of young and old men in ancient Greece.

"The President arose, read the minutes of the last meeting, and referred to a discourse which one of the members had made at a previous meeting—which actually was a sermon of Oberlin's—and called upon him to finish what he had not then time to say. Oberlin, who was in a corner upon the bench, among the club members, took off his great cloak and went upon the improvised tribune, and in a very natural manner led in prayer, such as it is customary to offer before divine service. Then followed a most Christian sermon, well adapted to his listeners. I admired him, for it took courage to

speak so plainly. I was glad indeed to hear this good Oberlin. I found united in him a holy enthusiasm with a frank and original expression which appealed to my heart. Every one knelt in prayer, and the women for the most part bowed their heads in their hands. . . ."

This "Society of the People" attracted the attention of the Jacobins. They suspected that the Bende-la-Roche, and particularly Oberlin's house, served as a refuge to those who had fled for safety during the "Terror" of Paris. Hence, the parsonage had several visits of gendarmes who were looking for offenders. A handful of revolutionary tyrants from Strasburg established what they called *La Propagande Revolutionnaire* and in a spirit of impious atrocity began a circuit with a traveling guillotine, and put to death whom they pleased. It is said that fifty thousand Alsatians took refuge in Germany. . . .

These were the days when Oberlin was in great personal peril and when he was visited from Strasburg by an official, afterwards supposed to be St. Just, who spent the night at Oberlin's house. He appears to have satisfied himself that the man who had demitted his clerical functions and become a mechanic might safely be permitted to retain his head. At one time Oberlin's house was searched when a refugee was within, who was not discovered, owing to the tact and marvelous coolness of Oberlin. The officers left him with ample apologies for their intrusion, while the suspect was within

hearing of their regrets for the unnecessary visit. The tact and courage of Oberlin in these trying times is seen in an address made in 1794 to the younger members of his flock:

"I desire," he said in his address, "that the people of the French Republic should be animated by truly republican sentiments. I wish them to understand that every individual ought to live for the public good. We are republicans when from love to the public we endeavor both by precept to stimulate our children to active beneficence and to seek to render them useful to others by attending to such pursuits as are likely to increase the public prosperity.

"We are republicans when we endeavor to imbue the minds of our children with such knowledge as may be likely in mature life to make them useful in the station they are called to occupy, and when we teach them to love their neighbors as themselves.

"We are republicans when we preserve our children from that self-interested spirit—which at the present time seems to have gained more ascendency than ever—when so many care only for themselves and labor for the public good only as they are compelled to do so. Ah, far from us be this infernal spirit, as anti-republican as it is anti-Christian."

He concludes his address by praying for all true republicans. The aptitude with which he blended his political and religious admonitions revealed the man. He escaped the Terrorists by proclaiming his republican sentiments, but he managed to work

in a good deal of sound preaching in the way in which he did it.

He took his chances, however. In due time he was summoned to Strasburg for examination. His statement before the judges was: "In my instruction I always restricted myself to that which would help my brothers and make them good patriots, good fathers, zealous republicans, faithful and praiseworthy citizens in every circumstance. I gave up at a meeting of the people a while ago the neckband and cloak which I formerly wore. I always disliked these vain distinctions. As to royalty, it had to be abolished, and I began several years ago to inspire my hearers with republican sentiments." He was allowed to continue "The Society of the People." But later on the second summons came, this time held before the mayor and the municipal council of Fouday, and Oberlin there signed the following declaration: "I recognize that the universality of the citizens of France is a sovereign authority. I promise to obey and submit to the laws of the republic."

DEVELOPING SUBLEADERS

Reprinted by permission from Binder, Rudolph M., "Principles of Sociology," pp. 210–212. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1928.

If the *urge* for completion is a fact pervading all organisms from the lowest to the highest, and if the *desire* for completion is proportionate to mental differentiation among human beings, the expectation that this goal would be most clearly conceived by the mentally most differentiated seems to be justified. Such men should know what the goal involves for themselves and for their fellows, and they should devise ways and means for attaining it. The conception of the integral self should be formulated in a proposition which serves as a norm for action concerning oneself and others.

The desire for an integral self means the satisfaction which comes from the development of all capacities of oneself and of other men in their entirety—physical, mental, and social—as over against any particular desires. It is the endeavor to build up a body which will function effectively and enable the mind to rejoice in its expansion and to protest against any incompleteness, whether in itself or in its social milieu. In its fullness this desire implies the recognition of one's own limitations and of the necessity of developing other individuals to

their utmost for the purpose of complementing each other. Unity within the individual and harmonious living with others are its ultimate ends.

Some sort of completion has always been in the minds of men. The simplest kind of ideal, which every man above the status of an idiot and imbecile forms, is a proof of this statement. Such an ideal is not formed in a vacuum nor is it taken out of the air. It is, and can be, formed only in the social milieu. The will to live, to procreate, to exercise power, to complete oneself, are, briefly, the different stages through which it has passed. The different stages in social development have impressed each one of these ideals successively on the members of society. These stages not only can be traced historically, but they are found to-day to a certain extent among savage, barbarous, semi-civilized, and civilized peoples. Even in the very centers of civilization these stages are occupied by different groups. There are men who apparently merely live and exist, *e.g.*, the paupers and criminals. Others are willing to take good care of their offspring, but their endeavors end there. A third group is desperately anxious to acquire power in order to control others, chiefly by oppression. A fourth group is full of good will toward everybody and filled with a desire to help, but unable to find the means. It is only the fifth group, whose desire for completion is rationalized, that is not only willing but able to devise ways and means for a more effi-

cient social life. That is, as far as the other groups will permit it.

Historically, every individual was chiefly under the spell of the ideal of his community. It was to be the best hunter and fisher in the beginning; later the possessor of the largest herds, then the most efficient killer; and now, to a certain extent, the era of good will and rationalization has arrived. But all through the ages there were some men in every society who were dissatisfied with what *was* and strove for what *might be*. They were the differentiated men whose uniqueness was more striking. Their generic qualities were well developed, and they became fully socialized. But they were never satisfied. Their uniqueness demanded an outlet by initiating something new. It might be little or it might be much; whichever it was, they introduced improvements and raised the social level at least slightly. Progress was thus initiated by those men who were not only socialized but individualized.

On every level, though, there were those who clung to the things that were. This was due in some cases to unwillingness to make the necessary effort which advance entails, in others to inability to understand and appreciate progressive measures. And that situation still exists. The difficulties of the leader begin there and, if continued, discourage the reformer. The leader has the desire to help everybody; he believes that he has devised the necessary measures; but his efforts are frustrated by those who are either unwilling or unable to rise to higher

levels. Still, he needs their contributions in his endeavor since he realizes his own limitations. Each man has talent, however small it may happen to be, and that talent has to be developed if society is to rise higher and if that man is to attain satisfaction. The leader can be stimulated only in proportion as those around him are developing their uniqueness. For his own sake as well as for their sake, he insists, and has to insist, on their development.

SUBMISSIVENESS

Reprinted by permission from Hankins, Frank Hamilton, "An Introduction to the Study of Society," pp. 366–68. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

Correlated with the phenomena of leadership are those of submissiveness both to individual and to crowd domination. Obviously, undiluted self-assertion would lead to a war of each against all; it would make impossible any kind of coöperation under leadership and thus make society impossible. Stubborn resistance in the face of overwhelming odds may appeal to us as heroic, but it may also lead to unnecessary effort or even self-destruction. Most people find genuine satisfaction in submitting to leadership and take a personal pride in the achievements of their leader. Crowd domination is even more irresistible for the average man. It is a common observation that it takes a high grade of moral courage to fight against it. This submissiveness is easily developed in a herd animal. We saw above that there seems to be a close connection between man's gregariousness and what Galton calls his "slavishness." Certain it is that there is a profoundly significant balance between human self-assertiveness and submissiveness. These ambivalent traits give man a certain capacity for personal independence on the one hand, but on the other, a

certain readiness to follow and be dominated by his leaders and his group. May it not be that this balance was long ago struck by the twofold nature of the immemorial struggle for existence?

This inherent tendency to acknowledge superiority, to be obedient and loyal to personages endowed with social prestige, is not only an essential basis of every kind of group organization, but is an important factor in the determination of group standards and ideals. It enables the leaders to set standards of behavior, of right and wrong, and other forms of social valuation, which are readily disseminated throughout the group. This is particularly true in a society organized for military efficiency, because in such a society every social force or institution which will accentuate the ascendancy of leaders and the subordination of followers is utilized. The same phenomena, however, are abundantly illustrated in a democratic individualistic society such as our own. In such a society, moreover, the power of leaders and all the symbols of prestige gain enormously in times of group danger, through the increased suggestibility resulting therefrom. In times of peace, security, and prosperity, the inherent individualism and centrifugal egoism of human nature assert themselves with considerable freedom. There is, therefore, at such times an increasing tendency to flout the prestige of leaders, to obey individual impulses, to assert personal freedom and independence, and to develop otherwise many of the characteristic phenomena of

a democratic community. In times of war or other common peril, however, the forces of social cohesion rise to an irresistible level, and individuals are welded into a solid mass with an extraordinary tendency to believe what they are told and to do what they are ordered.

As regards political organization, an important feature of this subject is the relationship of leadership to democracy. In this country the social tradition is largely based upon theories of human equality. The political philosophy of the Revolutionary Fathers asserted with great vigor and deep emotion that all men are created equal. They derided the prestige of kings and nobles and all the insignia, paraphernalia, and symbolism of outworn feudalism. Nevertheless, history shows that a democratic community is subject to the absolute necessity of skillful leadership; and leadership implies that men are not equal either in power to dominate their fellow men, or in those capacities essential for the determination of the policies of state. Moreover, while the theories of the late eighteenth century attributed to the average man a high rationality of his conduct, modern psychology shows him to be governed by his emotions and sentiments to an almost unbelievable degree. The result is that we discover that the art of leadership in a democracy is not the appeal of intelligence to intelligence; it is not the promotion of clear rationalistic thought by the attrition of argumentative mind upon mind; but rather it is the skillful appeal by clever orators

and writers to the deep-seated emotions and sentiments of the community. Democratic leadership becomes a test of skill in the use of the psychology of suggestion. Most such leaders have a ready and sympathetic understanding of human nature. At the same time, the recent progress in social psychology as an academic study has contributed not a little to the art of propaganda and crowd control, not merely in political campaigns, but in the more prosaic activities of business promotion, and even the evanescent activities of a charity ball.

While this view may substantially alter our ideas regarding the essential nature of democratic government, it throws into strong relief the necessity of cultivating in the community habits of deliberative thought. Moreover, it shows that the character of democratic government, as indeed the character of the democratic community throughout, is determined fundamentally by the quality of its leaders. Democracy is a rule of the mob only when it is in the hands of demagogues, or of narrow-minded but deeply emotional, self-seeking leaders. Moreover, the democratic form of political organization has the inestimable advantages of setting up a rivalry for leadership, thus giving the community a certain selective prerogative. It also makes it possible for the community more or less periodically to reconsider its leaders, and to turn out those that have proved false to the public interest. We may say, then, that even though suffrage be more or less of an illusion so far as the individual citizen is con-

cerned, it contains within its possibilities the power of a more or less flexible adjustment of leadership to the dominant interests of the group.

There is thus a reciprocal relation between the democratic community and its leaders. The latter can never appear to differ widely from the mass in thought and sentiment; otherwise they would lose power and prestige. Their function is rather to give form and clarity to popular desires, and to become the embodiment of popular ideals and purposes. The public reacts powerfully to strong personalities who know how to appeal to them, whereas it reacts with slowness or indifference to cold logic and colorless facts. Here are the reasons why democracy is always in danger of becoming a rule of the mob, and it is rarely that the leaders of a democratic government are among the ablest minds of the community.

Chapter V

UNDERSTANDING BACKWARD GROUPS

METHODS of leadership must depend quite largely upon the stage of social evolution of the group that is to be led. Both in city and in country a considerable percentage of the population is made up of groups who have not advanced into the stage of social and industrial efficiency which has come to be considered normal by those living in educational centers. If those who have evolved normally may be said to be in the adult, or mature, stage of social progress, these backward groups may be said to be in the childhood, or immature, stage of social progress.

These immature groups in city and in country are arrested in their development largely from two causes:

(1) A very close confinement to the means of production in the realm of making a living.

(2) The lack of wide experiences and relationships with men and affairs.

Sometimes this backward group is found as a part of our otherwise advanced community, and sometimes the entire community is made up of socially retarded people. The rural town or village that has been termed "decadent" falls within this class.

It is important that the leader should understand this proportion of his community, since a failure to reach them will mean final failure in leadership. Warren H. Wilson,[1] in his book, "The Evolution of the Country Community," ably presents the doctrine of "the marginal man." He clearly demonstrates that the leader who serves the backward element in the community serves all between him and them, and he who serves only the most advanced soon has none at all to serve. He says: "A minister who came into a well-organized country community where there were a few landholders, many tenants and numbers of farm hands, found that the only appeal by which the whole community could be reached was an appeal directed to the marginal people in the community. When he sought the tenant farmer, he secured with him the landholder, and when he went after the hired man on the farm, he secured the farmer who employed him. When he gained the adherence of the boys and girls, he secured the support of their parents, and when he rendered service to little children, he could safely rely upon the gratitude and loyalty of their mothers and fathers."

To one who has had experience in leading these who are socially undeveloped, they seem to be truly in the childhood stage, compared with the socially developed and efficient. I use the word "childhood" here in the same sense as when we speak of the

[1] Wilson, Warren H., "The Evolution of the Country Community," Chap. 8, p. 114. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1912.

childhood of the race, referring to the age of primitive peoples.

To declare that these people are backward in their development, is not in any sense adversely to criticise them. The very nearness of their toil tends to keep human life restricted and primitive, with childish characteristics. Constant contact, first-hand, with the elemental means of making a living, serves to maintain this primitive condition.

Especially in a rural community of this sort, the leader will find much of the happy simplicity and innocence of childhood. I do not mean to say that the people here described do no wrong; but I do mean to say that the wrongs which they do are more like the impetuous naughtinesses of little boys and girls than the sinister and planned crimes of adults. Since rural surveys have been made for the most part by city people and the results tabulated from the standpoint of urban experience and training, the deductions announced have in many cases been unjust to rural people. Certain apparent wrongs perpetrated by such groups of rural people have been attributed to the same motives as actuate city people who perpetrate wrongs that seem to be in the same class. If a man enters a city store and takes provisions, he is dealt with as a criminal; but if the four-year-old son of the storekeeper enters his mother's pantry and takes provisions, he is reprimanded in a good-natured way and taught how to do better. The two acts are exactly the same—and yet he would be most cruel who would

place the offenders in the same class. If, then, I can make my point that people with whom we are here dealing are childlike as compared with the socially efficient, I have presented the greatest plea that could possibly be made in extenuation of some of those acts for which the socially undeveloped have been blamed.

People become mature in mind largely through varied experiences, and especially through travel and association with people of varied interests. To a considerable extent, these backward people have been denied this larger experience and relationship, and have lives necessarily circumscribed.

Dr. Carver says: "Of all the leading occupations in a civilized country, there is none in which success depends so little upon social and so much upon physical knowledge and adaptability, as farming. And there is none where life is lived and work is done in such intimate and direct contact with nature and so little in contact with other men. One result of this kind of life and work is that the farmer acquires less of what are sometimes called the social graces—less adroitness in the amenities of social intercourse, less expertness in the intricacies of drawing-room etiquette—than the members of almost any other large class. Those who get their living out of other men must of necessity be skillful in the arts of pleasing other men. It is part of their business. But they who get their living out of the soil must concentrate their attention upon the soil and the things pertaining to it; and the

skill and knowledge which they acquire must relate to these things rather than to social intercourse.'' [2]

Social intercourse makes for more than urbanity —it makes also for maturity of mind. People who do not have some relationship with men and movements become mature in body without becoming mature in mind. They become adult children.

Many of those who undertake extension education forget this fact of the immature social development among certain groups of people, and plan their work to appeal to adult, trained minds. Many a local leader, not having any other material at hand, uses the educational material supplied him from the educational center and by people who know chiefly the studious adult mind—and is astonished and disappointed to find how poorly this material fits the needs of a socially backward population. Much of the pedagogical teaching of former times failed here; because, where instructions apply to certain definite ages, it may be that, through arrested development, the people of those ages in a given community are not sufficiently adult of mind to deal with the subject matter which such ages could handle normally. The average educator who makes up religious and secular courses of education and trains leaders in the new pedagogy is drawing his inferences necessarily from the world which he knows—and that is the world of the modern city educational center. To say that people in the groups under

[2] Carver, T. N., ''Principles of Rural Economics,'' Chap. 1, pp. 13, 14. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1911.

discussion ought not to be socially immature gets the leader nowhere. I repeat: the local leader must take the people *as they are and not as he thinks they ought to be.*

Nor is this to declare that, viewed from the standpoint of their environment, such people should be other than childlike. Who shall say that the maturity of mind of the cosmopolitan globe-trotter gives him or the community any more happiness than the immature mind of the provincial man gives to himself and his community? The only point of danger is this: the trained leader himself has the mature mind. He has lived and worked with people who have mature minds—and he will make a dismal failure if he attempts to lead backward groups without understanding the peculiarity of the type of mind with which he deals.

To the man of world interest who suddenly becomes part of a socially backward group, the conversation of these people seems to be on topics that are of the least possible significance. Yet to them, and in a sense to the world at large, these topics are of the greatest possible interest. The local leader must not assume the right to ignore this conversation as something below his notice; neither must he join as one who makes an evident *attempt* to show interest. He must really come to be interested in the commonplace things in which his people are interested.

Dr. Carver, writing of this interest in simple, fundamental processes, says: "Happenings in the

physical world were of the utmost concern to him [the farmer of the past epoch], and he was, in fact, more dependent on these than any other class. Floods, droughts, storms, untimely frosts, backward seasons, continuously threatened to render his labor of no avail or to destroy the fruits of it. Continual watching of weather signs made the farmer, with the possible exception of the sailor, the most expert of all judges of weather, and made that subject, together with crops, the two perennial themes of rural conversation."[3]

But the writer goes on to declare that these simple matters of childlike interest are after all of greater importance than one would at first imagine, and quotes a financial writer in one of our leading reviews as declaring: "Harvest results provide the one essential factor in economic and industrial progress which is wholly beyond the control of man. Human sagacity may insure wise currency legislation; it may increase the output of gold; it may avoid political complications; it may develop existing trade at home; it may create new trade abroad; but it cannot create abundant harvests or prevent a crop failure, upon which alternative, at certain junctures, nearly all of the five other influences cited above depend. With all the increase, during the three generations, of other factors going to make up prosperity or adversity, it is almost as true to-day as it was a century ago that the average na-

[3] Carver, T. N., "Principles of Rural Economics," Chap. 1, p. 15. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1911.

tion's industrial progress depends chiefly on the raising of an abundant crop and its sale at fair prices."

So the wise leader will not discourage the child-like tendency to think and talk in terms of weather and crops and weeds and insect pests; he will rather himself preach and teach in these very terms, spiritualizing and glorifying these common things within a restricted horizon.

At a conference on rural life a few years ago, a complaining minister declared with regard to farm people in his community: "The trouble with them is they think in terms of *hog!*" Since that minister lived and worked as a leader in a hog-raising section, and his salary came largely from the profits in the sale of hogs, he might better have been proud of the fact that his people were thinking in terms of "hog." It may be difficult to spiritualize hog-raising, or to deal with that business in ethical terms of idealism—but in a hog-raising section that is the business of the preacher and teacher. This child-temperament that comes from a circumscribed horizon is not to be considered as a fault, but to be dealt with as a fact. A wise teacher in a wheat country, where people are living in terms of wheat, will teach in terms of wheat; where people are living in the midst of springtime lilies, will teach in terms of lilies; where people are interested primarily in sheep, will teach in terms of sheep. So did the wisest Teacher of them all. And he so

taught, lest through Him "one of these little ones should stumble."

Because of his nearness to and close dependence upon the soil and its products, a country dweller instinctively emphasizes the law of self-preservation. For this reason the casual observer from the large center, farther removed from the source of supply, is likely to condemn him as being selfish. If he has a lack of social vision, that is largely a matter of temperament on account of his very circumscribed life.

Warren H. Wilson says:[5] "The household farmer is so devoted to his own group and its experiences that he approves of what is within and disapproves of most things without. He looks upon all other groups of people with a certain reserve, almost an aversion. He favors the members of his own household, and prefers them to all others. . . . He does not recognize obligations in extensive detail outside of his own farm. He thinks of his neighbor farmers as his competitors, not his comrades in a cooperative enterprise." The same writer declares of certain rural communities: "It is a shocking moral experience to observe deacons and other spiritual leaders using the public school system for private profit and thinking no ill of it. . . . They would not tamper with school funds, but they will solicit the appointment of a daughter as a teacher solely because she is a member of their family.

[5] Wilson, Warren H., "The Church of the Open Country," Chap. 4, p. 88. New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1911.

There are many farmers in the country who could be trusted with your property or your child. You would make no mistake if you appointed such a man executor of your will, but beware of putting him as the trustee of a public fund which is for the interest of the community."[6]

Many instances could be cited, such as the disappearance of country cemetery funds while the cemetery goes without care; the petty juggling of the meager funds of small municipalities; the "dividing of spoils" in the handling of township affairs. To be sure, such customs are not unknown even to city life—but there the offense is on a very large scale, and the offenders belong in a class by themselves. They are successful public thieves. In some backward rural sections, however, the practice is of a petty nature, and is a common thing "among the best people." It is the childlike instinct of self-preservation asserting itself where it comes into contact with organized society.

It is not the writer's purpose here to dwell on this feature of backward community life or to multiply incidents to prove its existence; but rather to impress the reader with the fact and with the necessity of making use of that fact.

In leading the man who has not become socially mature to the right sort of economic organization, obviously the starting-point will be an appeal to his own personal welfare. There is no use in appealing to his altruism—it doesn't exist in any large degree.

[6] *Ibid.*, Chap. 4, p. 89.

Even in the field of new educational movements, there is a legitimate appeal to be made to selfish economic interests. The improved school will *pay him* in the long run. Industrial education will *pay him*, if he will give it a fair trial. Even the better type of religion will be a paying investment for him personally if his faith can be strengthened to make such an investment.

The idealist may say that this is becoming sordid in one's appeal and stooping to materialism. I reply that it is mercifully taking a man in the mire by the hand *where he is* and leading him from that place to higher ground of which he could not otherwise have known the existence.

The unsocialized group is emotional. There is no argument needed to prove this statement. In every time, the spellbinder of whatever variety has played on the emotions of such people. Political, economic, and religious movements of the wildest sort have gone like great tidal waves over certain backward sections. Particularly is this true in the religious realm, possibly because there is more occasion here for the expression of the emotions. Emotion and superstition go hand in hand. Psychic phenomena live and thrive here. All emotions are mixed also in the same crucible, so that not infrequently the greatest religious emotion is accompanied by wild excesses along other lines. This childlike tendency to be emotional, and not to control the emotions, must be understood by one who comes into leadership of such people.

Much has been said, and rightly said, in modern times against emotionalism. Modern writers on the Rural Church have especially cited rural emotionalism as the menace of rural religion. I have myself seen a man bounce up and down like a rubber ball and shout a meaningless religious phrase until he fell over in a trance. When, at the close of the meeting, another meeting was called to consider school consolidation and the transportation of pupils, the same man, recovered from his trance, heatedly opposed the whole proposition because it involved good roads, to which he was unalterably opposed. When asked the basis of his opposition to the presentation of such practical subjects of human welfare, he declared that they were "not spiritual." He found in them no means of awakening his childlike emotions.

A citizen in a backward community was telling me about a minister who sometimes came to their country church to preach. He said, "Some say that he ought to go away to college and get an education. But law! he don't need an education! Why, he preached last Sunday in our church, and there was nary a dry eye in the audience!" He could make the people cry; they enjoyed crying together —therefore he was a good and acceptable leader.

Because of this same emotional temperament, funerals are very popular in certain backward sections. I have seen people, during the busy season, refuse to attend a school meeting or to come out to vote at a county election, or even to attend a

special meeting of a coöperative association where important business was to be transacted. But in these same sections I have never seen them fail to come out *en masse* to a funeral. This is partly owing to the fact that there is a natural desire to attend the funeral service of one whom we have known, and in the country the people have a wider local acquaintance. But even those who never knew the deceased or the bereaved often come in crowds to the country funeral. I once heard an untrained minister of Southern extraction, in recognition of this fact, declare to a funeral crowd: "You-all don't come out to hear me preach on Sundays, and now that I got ye here, I'm gwine to *skeer* ye!"

In a retarded village, I asked a woman of my acquaintance why she attended funeral services of people whom she had never known, and after a moment's study she declared simply: "I'm afraid if I don't go to their funeral, they won't come to mine." No doubt the "their" and "they" in her thinking referred to the community generally and not to the deceased. Here, again, are the mingling of superstition, the love for the emotional, and strong neighborhood sentiment.

Now, it is one thing roundly to condemn this emotional temperament of the people of certain sections and a vastly different thing to use it wisely. As a matter of fact, even those who most thoroughly condemn the emotional find themselves wonderfully human when the heart is wrung with some great sorrow or elevated with some great joy. What such

persons really mean to advocate is doubtless the proper control and use of the emotions. In the attempt to feature through the church the new economic, educational, and social life, one can frequently witness the spectacle of the exponent of that emotionless gospel talking quietly to empty chairs, while the great crowd has rushed to another building to sit under the spell of one who plays ruthlessly with their emotions, swinging them from tears to laughter and back to tears again—perhaps all for no good purpose. But certainly there is enough real tragedy in the maladjustment of people to the new economic age, the new educational age, the new social age, to bring into play all of the emotions that can be aroused—and to turn those emotions to a good new cause. The wise leader will not condemn the people for being emotional; he will, like the wise father of his children, direct those emotions and assist in their proper use and control. Perhaps here is a power that will effect new social organization, bring about a modern type of school, and accomplish other miracles where pure logic has failed.

This necessary emphasis upon the law of self-preservation, combined with emotionalism, both childlike traits, produces the other outstanding and distinctive features of the group under discussion. The refusal to follow leadership often grows out of a suspicion that the leader has a "graft" and that it is the duty of the citizen to pull him down from his place of leadership—perhaps, by so doing,

to show his own ability to do some leading. A representative of a certain college was proud to have a farmer say to him concerning the head of a department, "He's a mighty glib talker, and we liked him fine." But the college man's pride turned to chagrin when his companion added, reproachfully, "I could always talk glib myself, and if I had his education, I could have as blamed good a graft as he's got." It was not even the fact of the "graft" that impressed him, but rather that it belonged to another and not to himself. A farm survey in a backward community developed the fact that one farmer had been particularly successful in his farming enterprises. The fact became known—and from that time on his neighbors cordially hated him and tried in every way to humble him and bring about his failure. They were jealous of his success. It should have been theirs.

In attempting to place a one-week extension school of agriculture in the same community, I mentioned the fact that if they did not care for it, a community in another part of the state would accept the school for that week. Immediately certain ones got busy and secured the dates for their own community. The school was dated for the other community for the following week. The leader of the movement in the first community became offended because, as he said, "You told us that if we didn't take it, they would get it over there; so we hustled and raised the money, and then you gave it to them, too." They wanted the sole possession of the good

things, and were jealous of others who had the opportunity to share with them. Is not that like the attitude of overgrown boys?

Those who place this emphasis upon self-interest, and who are emotionally inclined, are, like children, easily susceptible to praise and blame. The leader who is looking out for larger things frequently forgets to say to a full-grown man that he has performed some small duty admirably; but the full-grown man of this type notices the "intentional slight" and makes mental calculations that he will do nothing more for the leader.

In preparing for a Community Festival, a farmer who owned a twenty-thousand-dollar farm, and was feeding several thousand dollars' worth of steers, undertook to build a refreshment stand. The local leader, hurrying by, criticized adversely, but not harshly, the way in which the stand was being constructed, and suggested some improvements. The farmer was mortally offended, became his sworn enemy, and ever since that time has sought to bring about the failure of the local movement which is dear to that leader. This leader would not have spoken so to a boy, but he took it for granted that he was dealing with a mature mind. The wise leader, therefore, when he has learned that the members of the community where he is working are easily moved by praise and blame, will adjust his attitude accordingly, even as one does in dealing with the children in his family.

The one whose very existence demands that he

place emphasis upon the law of self-preservation becomes a conservative. He wishes to hold things just as he has them. Yet his emotionalism, when once it has broken loose, makes him a radical, ready to rush to the wildest extremes. This is a dangerous contradictory temperament. It has held back certain much-needed movements for many years, such as the larger educational unit, school consolidation, industrial education, church unity, and other manifestations of progress. It has also suddenly broken all bounds and spent itself in The Alliance, in Populism, Communism, and other organized excesses economic, social, and religious.

We are not offering here a harsh criticism of the proportion of people with whom this discussion deals, but only diagnosing a case—holding a clinic for the benefit of those who would understand this temperament from the standpoint of leaders. The group types under discussion are found in urban and in rural areas alike. Choosing between the two, many would rather deal with this type where it is found among rural people—perhaps on the ground that it is easier to lead a little child than to reform a confirmed adult wrongdoer.

The leader among such people will find that his greatest element of joy and strength is owing to a right understanding of their nature and tenderness. When the foster-child has personally come to trust and love his father, it often happens that he has a deeper affection and loyalty than are found in the natural child. The tendency to self-preservation

makes the primitive man fight to the last ditch for someone whom he has really made a part of himself. In some cases, this personal loyalty amounts almost to hero-worship. When the limitations of vision will not permit loyalty to a group or an abstract ideal, that almost selfish and lovingly jealous loyalty is often expressed for the individual. City folk are likely to speak of "*the* preacher" and "*the* teacher"; the countryman with whom we are dealing says "*my* preacher" and his child says "*my* teacher." He comes to feel a personal ownership, and jealously guards the welfare of the leader who *belongs* to him.

When this sense of possession is once established, emotionalism sometimes carries it to splendid group expression. I have seen a country church audience, in a backward village, shed tears together because the preacher's cow had died and there was no milk for his children, and straightway make that emotion practical by laying on the altar sufficient money to buy another cow. Also I have seen a group of these people seriously take up a collection as a special token of affectionate regard for the visiting "elder" —and it seemed not to impress anyone as ludicrous that the total amount of the collection was sixty cents. And the elder was wise enough to accept the gift graciously, with due recognition of the spirit which prompted these "children" to bestow it.

This same immature temperament prompts such people to be unusually solicitous and kind in time of trouble, such as sickness or bereavement. Under

such circumstances, mature and well-trained persons are likely to assume that those who are in trouble are capable of taking care of themselves or of hiring assistance. The exact opposite is true in the type of community pictured here. Sickness and death are community calamities, and the very laws of self-preservation and tendency to emotionalism lead this primitive type of folk to lend untiring assistance both day and night. Since suffering is exaggerated by the child-mind, among such persons it forms the most natural bond of union—a veritable "fellowship of suffering."

The conclusion for the leader to bear in mind is that in this type of community he is dealing with a socially immature people. In no other situation is there such need for one to be a "father" to the community.

THE IMAGE OF THE CAVE

Adapted from Plato, "The Republic," Jowett translation, pp. 215–220. London, 1888; by permission of the Trustees and Delegates of the Oxford University Press.

Behold! human beings living in an underground den, which has a mouth open towards the light and reaching all along the den; here they have been from their childhood, and have their legs and necks chained so that they cannot move, and can only see before them, being prevented by the chains from turning round their heads. Above and behind them a fire is blazing at a distance, and between the fire and the prisoners there is a raised way; and you will see, if you look, a low wall built along the way, like the screen which marionette players have in front of them, over which they show the puppets.

I see.

And do you see, I said, men passing along the wall carrying all sorts of vessels, and statues and figures of animals made of wood and stone and various materials, which appear over the wall? Some of them are talking, others silent.

You have shown me a strange image, and they are strange prisoners.

Like ourselves, I replied; and they see only their shadows, or the shadows of one another, which the fire throws on the opposite wall of the cave.

True, he said; how could they see anything but the shadows if they were never allowed to move their heads?

And of the objects which are being carried in like manner they would see only the shadows?

Yes, he said.

And if they were able to converse with one another, would they not suppose that they were naming what was actually before them?

Very true.

And suppose further that the prison had an echo which came from the other side, would they not be sure to fancy when one of the passers-by spoke that the voice which they heard came from the passing shadow?

No question, he replied.

To them, I said, the truth would be literally nothing but the shadows of the images.

That is certain.

And now look again, and see what will naturally follow if the prisoners are released and disabused of their error. At first, when any of them is liberated and compelled suddenly to stand up and turn his neck round and walk and look towards the light, he will suffer sharp pains; the glare will distress him, and he will be unable to see the realities of which in his former state he had seen the shadows; and then conceive some one saying to him, that what he saw before was an illusion, but that now, when he is approaching nearer to being and his eye is turned towards more real existence, he has a clearer

vision,—what will be his reply? And you may further imagine that his instructor is pointing to the objects as they pass and requiring him to name them,—will he not be perplexed? Will he not fancy that the shadows which he formerly saw are truer than the objects which are now shown to him?

Far truer.

And if he is compelled to look straight at the light, will he not have a pain in his eyes which will make him turn away to take refuge in the objects of vision which he can see, and which he will conceive to be in reality clearer than the things which are now being shown to him?

True, he said.

And suppose, once more, that he is reluctantly dragged up a steep and rugged ascent, and held fast until he is forced into the presence of the sun himself, is he not likely to be pained and irritated? When he approaches the light his eyes will be dazzled, and he will not be able to see anything at all of what are now called realities.

Not all in a moment, he said.

He will require to grow accustomed to the sight of the upper world. And first he will see the shadows best, next the reflections of men and other objects in the water, and then the objects themselves; then he will gaze upon the light of the moon and the stars and the spangled heaven; and he will see the sky and the stars by night better than the sun or the light of the sun by day?

Certainly.

Last of all he will be able to see the sun, and not mere reflections of him in the water, but he will see him in his own proper place, and not in another; and he will contemplate him as he is.

Certainly.

He will then proceed to argue that this is he who gives the season and the years, and is the guardian of all that is in the visible world, and in a certain way the cause of all things which he and his fellows have been accustomed to behold?

Clearly, he said, he would first see the sun and then reason about him.

And when he remembered his old habitation, and the wisdom of the den and his fellow-worshippers, do you not suppose that he would felicitate himself on the change, and pity them?

Certainly, he would.

And if they were in the habit of conferring honours among themselves on those who were quickest to observe the passing shadows and to remark which of them went before, and which followed after, and which were together; and who were therefore best able to draw conclusions as to the future, do you think that he would care for such honours and glories, or envy the possessors of them? Would he not say with Homer,

"Better to be the poor servant of a poor master,"

and to endure anything, rather than think as they do and live after their manner?

Yes, he said, I think that he would rather suffer

anything than entertain these false notions and live in this miserable manner.

Imagine once more, I said, such an one coming suddenly out of the sun to be replaced in his old situation; would he not be certain to have his eyes full of darkness?

To be sure, he said.

And if there were a contest, and he had to compete in measuring the shadows with the prisoners who had never moved out of the den, while his sight was still weak, and before his eyes had become steady (and the time which would be needed to acquire this new habit of sight might be very considerable), would he not be ridiculous? Men would say of him that up he went and down he came without his eyes; and that it was better not even to think of ascending; and if any one tried to loose another and lead him up to the light, let them only catch the offender, and they would put him to death.

No question, he said.

This entire allegory, I said, you may now append, dear Glaucon, to the previous argument; the prison-house is the world of sight, the light of the fire is the sun, and you will not misapprehend me if you interpret the journey upwards to be the ascent of the soul into the intellectual according to my poor belief, which, at your desire, I have expressed—whether rightly or wrongly, God knows. But whether true or false, my opinion is that in the world of knowledge the idea of good appears last of all, and is seen only with an effort; and, when

seen, is also inferred to be the universal author of all things beautiful and right, parent of light and of the lord of light in this visible world, and the immediate source of reason and truth in the intellectual; and that this is the power upon which he who would act rationally either in public or private life must have his eye fixed.

I agree, he said, as far as I am able to understand you.

Moreover, I said, you must not wonder that those who attain to this beatific vision are unwilling to descend to human affairs; for their souls are ever hastening into the upper world where they desire to dwell; which desire of theirs is very natural, if our allegory may be trusted.

Yes, very natural.

And is there anything surprising in one who passed from divine contemplations to the evil state of man, misbehaving himself in a ridiculous manner; if, while his eyes are blinking and before he has become accustomed to the surrounding darkness, he is compelled to fight in courts of law, or in other places, about the images or the shadows of images of justice, and is endeavoring to meet the conceptions of those who have never yet seen absolute justice?

Anything but surprising, he replied. . . .

Then, I said, the business of us who are the founders of the State will be to compel the best minds to attain that knowledge which we have already shown to be the greatest of all—they must continue to

ascend until they arrive at the good; but when they have ascended and seen enough, we must not allow them to do as they do now.

What do you mean?

I mean that they remain in the upper world: but this must not be allowed; they must be made to descend again among the prisoners in the den, and partake of their labours and honours, whether they are worth having or not. . . .

Observe, Glaucon, that there will be no injustice in compelling our philosophers to have a care and providence of others; we shall explain to them that in other States, men of their class are not obliged to share in the toils of politics: and this is reasonable, for they grow up at their own sweet will, and the government would rather not have them. Being self-taught, they cannot be expected to show any gratitude for a culture which they have never received. But we have brought you into the world to be rulers of the hive, kings of yourselves and of the other citizens, and have educated you far better and more perfectly than they have been educated, and you are better able to share in the double duty. Wherefore each of you, when his turn comes, must go down to the general underground abode, and get the habit of seeing in the dark. When you have acquired the habit, you will see ten thousand times better than the inhabitants of the den, and you will know what the several images are, and what they represent, because you have seen the beautiful and just and good in their truth.

Chapter VI

TRAINING THE FOLLOWERS

WE have spoken at some length about the need of trained leaders. This chapter will treat of that other necessary requisite to wholesome social organization—*trained followers.* This is presented as a part of a discussion on "Leadership" because the only way that we can secure trained followers is by getting the leaders to train them.

We are not speaking now of the need of training farmers to farm or housekeepers to keep house or storekeepers to keep store. We are dealing with *organized* community life, and the need, if we are to develop efficient organization, of training the followers *as followers.*

We have been trying an experiment in America—an experiment in democracy. We are very young as a nation, and as yet we have proved very little. However, there are some things which we think we have demonstrated. If democracy, as practised in institutions, means that such bodies have no heads and that the members are to decide by majority vote matters of detail in the realm of expert knowledge, then democracy is doomed to failure. On the other hand, if democracy means that the members of an organic body are to decide by vote who shall be the

leader; follow that leader implicitly as long as he leads *efficiently,* and take him out of the position of leadership when he fails to do so—then democracy will succeed. We have demonstrated the truth of these statements. The proof is that those organizations—economic, religious, educational, and social—that have worked by the former plan have either collapsed or are putting forth strenuous efforts to save themselves by changing the plan. Those organizations, within the same fields, that have worked by the latter plan have steadily grown and accomplished efficient results.

This means that it is essential that leaders should be *leaders,* and followers should recognize themselves as *followers.* There is nothing in this statement to give greater credit either to leaders or followers. In fact, the places are interchangeable; the leader in one phase of organization will be the follower in another. The school teacher will be the leader in the educational organized life, and the minister and agricultural agent will be the followers. The agricultural agent will be the agricultural leader, and the minister and teacher will be his followers. The farmer will be the leader in the local agricultural organization of whatever nature, and the minister, the teacher, and the agricultural agent will be followers. The town meeting type of democracy has been persistent in the small community. With educational opportunities and organized efficiency centering in the cities, the popular control—found, for example, in the "personal liberty"

features of the town meeting idea—has become emphasized in many rural communities out of all proportion to the need of recognizing trained and chosen leadership.

Let us consider the typical cases of two young men who begin life together. One chooses at the close of his high school career to take up at once, with the start his family can give him, the business of farming, or merchandising, or car-repairing. By hard effort and good management, he accumulates land and stock and machinery, or a small retail store or a shop. He has a right to it—and, in so adding to the wealth of his community, he has performed a splendid and honorable service.

The other young man decides for a career of trained leadership. Perhaps he looks toward a professional position as county agricultural agent, school principal, or extension specialist. He takes the financial aid which his family can give him and expends it upon the process of making himself a better trained leader. While his friend is accumulating material possessions, by the same practice of industry and good management he works his way through college and on through the graduate school. Counting what he has expended, and what he might have made by investing that money and his efforts in some economic project, he has invested in himself, as leader, many thousands of dollars. It is his *capital,* out of which he is to make a living (with all that that word means) for himself and family.

When he has completed his training, the commu-

nity calls him into a position of professional leadership. He arrives on the field, makes a careful survey, and after enough time has elapsed for him to get his bearings, he proposes his program by which he will lead these people. Perhaps the people by vote even accept the program as they have already accepted the leader. But when he begins to operate the program and work out its details, giving the people their various parts in such service, a great surprise faces him.

"What!" says one and another of the "followers," "does this man think he can come into our community and run our affairs? Does he suppose we will allow him to tell *us* what to do?" The committee waits upon him and in substance declares: "Young man, you are here working for *us*. You will teach what we tell you to teach and administer affairs as we want them administered." This ordinarily means that teaching and executive administration shall follow the customs that prevailed in the past epoch.

With the first experience of this sort, the young man declares that he will be true to his training and lead the people out into the new light in spite of their remonstrance. He may have accumulated by this time the happy and most-to-be-desired encumbrances of a wife and baby. He may also have forgotten that the ravens are not to be depended upon in these modern times. Soon the treasurer of his organization informs him that it is difficult to secure support for him. For a little while he wears

threadbare clothing, and he and his family either go hungry or into debt; then he begins to look for some side-line with which to make up a living. Soon he leaves the community, with some of the "followers" quite cheerful in their victory over their chosen "leader." The same "followers" begin to look for another "leader." In the meantime the former leader does one of two things; he goes out of professional work and takes up some vocation where he can honestly be himself; or he allows himself to be whipped into line and becomes a job-holder and time-server in the conservative and established system. If, in certain sections and during certain periods, professional rural leadership has been weak, the blame may well be charged to the operation of this process among rural people during a generation of time.

In the same way, in many of our states and counties, the people elect superintendents of public instruction. The title would seem to indicate that these persons so elected are trained for their work and have the ability actually to superintend the education of the youth of the state or county. But, in a community such as we have been describing, the superintendent has only to attempt on one occasion actually to "superintend," and at the next election he will learn from a count of the votes of that precinct that the people who elected him didn't intend him to "superintend" at all.

This false idea of democracy is in many sections really the basis of the failure of organized society,

and no permanent success can be attained until we have not only "trained leaders" but also "trained followers."

In some parts of the country, this is peculiarly a rural interpretation of keeping organized life democratic. For example, almost any group of merchants or bankers or professional men in the city would rejoice to have the government and state and county coöperate to pay the salary of a specialist to help them accomplish their tasks with greater efficiency and to bring in greater financial returns. But that is exactly the opportunity that is offered to the agricultural community in the county agricultural agent, and from some backward groups we still hear men say: "This is a free country. I have a right to run my farm as I please. I guess I don't need any *adviser* to give me pointers." It is an emphasis upon personal rights rather than upon group efficiency. Group efficiency depends upon recognized leadership.

For the sake of organized economic and social life in the immediate future, it is essential that the local professional leader train such "followers" to *accept and follow leadership.* This is a slow process, and must often be done by indirection without the people realizing that the leader is responsible for such a movement. Among adults, much can be accomplished by working in the field of community life, and demanding that the people join in following *another* leader. For example, a community festival may be arranged, and one man, a farmer, elected

as superintendent or "officer of the day." Here is a fine opportunity for the professional leader to declare publicly to the people the gospel of leadership, and to set them a splendid example of how to be a faithful follower. Group games even among adults, with such teamwork as demands a captain and quick response to his commands, will assist in this process of education. In conducting any religious, educational, or business campaign, a free use of the commission or "management" plan will aid in such training. A very frequent public statement like this will keep the suggestion constantly before the group: "Mr. Brown, our fellow member, is in complete charge of this project. Its success or failure depends largely upon him. It was good of him to accept such a responsible position of leadership. It is our duty now to be good followers, take orders, and do just as he tells us to do." In every such way the leader should study how to accustom the people to leadership and to becoming the right sort of followers.

In the public address, the "speech" itself can be used as an educational factor in developing good followers. Frequently, illustrations may be used from the lives of great leaders and from outstanding historic events, and special emphasis may be placed upon the fact that the success was owing to the circumstance that the leaders had good followers who were ready to work in groups under leadership. It would be worthy of the cause if, in every public address on whatever theme, every local

leader in the United States would make use of some such illustration for the next five years. So much has been said from the public rostrum about "liberty" and "personal rights" that such reiteration of the need of "group efficiency" and "following the leader" would be a good antidote.

In boys' and girls' club work and in the school (both secular and religious), much may be accomplished in training the children to get this better conception of democracy. The successes of great, good leaders, as recorded in history, were possible because of the faithfulness of the followers, and their failures were due to the unfaithfulness of the followers. Scarcely a lesson of historic nature is presented but that some such applications could be made.

The playground at school presents an opportunity for the greatest amount of training in following leadership. This is one of the reasons for the great demand for play supervision. Let teams for games of every sort be organized with proper officers. Let the play supervisor absolutely see to it that the members obey quickly the orders of the captain, and that proper reprimand and forfeit follow the failure of any individual to do so. Classroom talks on the subject of "Play" would also emphasize this necessity of following the leader; and such instruction should be undertaken designedly for the purpose of educating the children for the coming "democracy of efficiency."

In Scout work, 4-H Clubs, and other similar or-

ganization clubs, the leader will find an added opportunity to train in group action. All such movements should be used as a means of the intensive development of a generation of people who can move in group action and "follow the leader."

Investigators of coöperative stores testify that two chief elements of failure are the tendency to secure poorly qualified managerial leadership, and the unwillingness on the part of the members to trust the manager and give him sufficient freedom in the use of his own judgment. There is a general feeling in some sections that it would be undemocratic to trust a leader so thoroughly. Yet, if the county superintendent's automobile got out of order, and the engine went dead on the road, he would be counted an imbecile to call a vote of the township as to what repairs were needed. He would be expected to take the machine to a mechanic and trust the latter's expert judgment and training. Certainly, the successful conduct of schools and churches and stores and agricultural organizations is as fully dependent upon expert judgment as is the repair of a car.

Another essential to the success of the new local leadership is that the people should be trained to *pay* adequately for such leadership. We can not get an efficient type of organized life in the average community until we can secure and retain the best trained leaders. As long as the large cities are willing to pay good living salaries to such leaders and the average town and country communities are

not willing to pay such salaries, we shall witness the sorry spectacle of temporary, cheap, and inefficient leadership in the large majority of American communities. It may be considered by some as most commendable for a school teacher to remain with the rural school at sixty dollars a month for eight months in the year when she can go to a city school at one hundred and fifty dollars a month for nine months in the year, but with a living wage estimated far beyond the former sum, many would want such a person examined to test her sanity!

In many of our states, the average teaching life of our grade school teachers is two years. The position carries with it such low remuneration that it can be sought only by young women who would otherwise receive no income during the short interim between high school graduation and marriage.

As much as we need permanency of trained leadership in the average community, it is past considering that a man who plans to maintain a family should go designedly into this business of school teaching on the present salary basis paid in the majority of our states.

But the securing of better qualified teachers and the paying of higher salaries must go hand in hand. No doubt many of those who teach rural schools in certain sections are getting all they are worth and more than they could secure at any other occupation. The movement must be planned so as to induce the local people to realize that they must have better qualified and more permanently settled teachers,

and that they must pay better salaries in order to secure and retain them.

It is very difficult for the teacher himself to train the people to provide better support for school teachers. Yet his attitude should always be such as will help toward producing that result. He must let it be understood that he, personally, is not seeking to secure a larger salary from that particular community; but that he is an advocate of the securing of a better trained and more permanent leadership for the school—and that such leadership cannot be secured except on a better salary basis.

The attitude of rural people in many sections toward the payment of a living salary to ministers must certainly be speedily changed if the church is to secure and retain the best leadership. The situation has greatly improved in some church bodies during the past ten years, but it is still far from satisfactory.

Agricultural agents, managers of coöperative enterprises, and others who have leadership in rural economic organizations in this new time, must be men who can handle business of some size and who are well educated in agricultural economics as well as in the particular lines of their specialized activities. There is a large and growing demand for such well-trained men, and good salaries await them, in the government employ, in higher educational activities, and in capitalistic ventures. The rural community cannot hold such men on meager salaries. The people of such communities seek to hold

them on meager salaries, because they have not come to think in terms of income and expense outside the actual realm of farming enterprises. These positions are created for the purpose of saving and making money for the farmer. In many cases, the saving amounts to many times the amount of the salary of the agent or manager to whose efforts the saving is due. Such a leader should carefully compile statistics of local enterprises to show the saving which has been brought about through economic leadership. The fact should be kept constantly before those interested that it is not at all a question as to how much salary such a leader is receiving, but rather that it is a matter of how much more than his salary he is making for those who employ him. In other words, they must be brought to consider not so much the *amount of the salary*, as the *worth of the service*. They must come to look upon the payment of salary for management in economic organization as an investment, and to understand that, within certain limits, the larger the investment the greater will be the returns.

In bringing about this willingness to pay adequately for leadership, local leaders can and should coöperate. The school teacher can do much toward creating sentiment favoring a living salary for the minister. The minister can exert great influence toward securing better pay for trained educational leadership. Both the minister and the teacher can further the local interest in the movement to pay agricultural agents and managers of coöperative en-

terprises salaries adequate to secure the best leaders obtainable.

It must always be understood that this is not simply a movement to get unduly large salaries for those who advocate the movement. The agitation must be on the basis of the need of trained leadership in our vast rural area on a par with that secured by our few large cities, and the utter impossibility of retaining such leadership with less remuneration than can be secured by a like grade of leadership in the city.

The victories of organized life at the centers of industries are the victories of leadership. These same victories will be registered in the case of our agricultural population when the people are trained to secure, to follow, and to pay for leadership.

PRESTIGE

Reprinted by permission from Bogardus, Emory S., "Fundamentals of Social Psychology," pp. 428–9. New York: The Century Company, 1924.

Social leadership and prestige are inseparable, for prestige is a rating of superiority, which gives leadership its chance. Prestige is a person's evaluation by his associates. As stated by Leopold, prestige is "a favorable impression of one person in the eyes of another."

The superiority assigned a person by others rarely coincides with his true worth. It is a relative matter, in which a leader is compared by persons with their own individual standards. Hence a leader's prestige depends on the standards of the persons who are judging him. It varies according to the latter's knowledge, prejudices, attitudes.

Since one's prestige rarely corresponds to his real worth, it is in part a delusion. The term, prestige, comes from the Latin and means delusion. It once connoted a reputation obtained by juggling and conjuring, casting out demons, and prophesying. It deluded by appealing to personal fancy, or by arousing the feelings and passions.

Prestige, in the sense that it is commonly used to-day, is a psychological estimate, but it is rarely based on "a scientific personal analysis of a per-

son's worth"; it is a "complex product of half-intellectual, half-emotional attitude, of each member of the group toward the leader as seen by other members." The vast majority of people, not being psychologically trained, are largely unscientific in rating their leaders.

"The subject of prestige is not the actual personality but the picture of this individual drawn by public opinion." The less scientifically trained the masses are, the more easily they may be duped by false leaders who innocently or deliberately take advantage of them. By displaying "symptoms of wealth" one may acquire for the time being the prestige of the wealthy.

In judging pictures in an art gallery, the ordinary person asks first who is the painter and then judges accordingly. If a picture is by Rembrandt, it is a masterpiece; if by Maes, it goes into the discard. In art as in drama, even the critic says, with Bernard Shaw: "How can I tell if it is a good play until I know who wrote it?"

FOLLOWERS SELECT THEIR LEADERS

Reprinted by permission from Davis, J., and Barnes, H. E., (and others), "An Introduction to Sociology," p. 636. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1927.

Any one who has reflected on the complexity and difficulty of the problems we are called on to deal with in every department of social life must realize the need for men of broad as well as specialized knowledge and ability to work out difficult problems, to take the lead in dealing with these problems. This means more thorough education, particularly education designed to develop powers of investigation, and hence the ability to cope with new problems as these arise. Such training must be supplied chiefly by the schools, including the university and the professional school. It must be specifically directed, in part, to arousing a genuine and enduring interest in the subjects upon which the student specializes, one that will motivate a continued study of these questions throughout the active life of the individual, and thus assure the proper preparation for dealing with them.

Followers *select* their leaders in one way or another, and the best type of leader is impossible without the best type of follower to do the selecting. The hand-shaking, "good mixer," wire-pulling type of leader that to-day infests our politics, our labor

movement, all our social activities to some extent, will not be displaced until other qualities than these are more valued by the rank and file of followers. (This displacement depends, like good leadership itself, on trained intelligence, on a correct appreciation of the functions which the leader is called on to assume, and of the qualities and abilities that are essential to their efficient performance.)

PRESTIGE AND PERSONALITY

Reprinted by permission from Bogardus, Emory S., "Fundamentals of Social Psychology," pp. 430–32. New York: The Century Company, 1924.

Prestige is often the *tragedy of greatness.* It may give a person a false estimate of his worth. If his prestige is larger than his real worth, he learns to rate himself according to it and thus gets an exaggerated opinion of himself. If his prestige is smaller than his real worth, he may become disheartened, or he may be stimulated to overcome the disadvantage, and to win back a lost prestige or to build to larger proportions.

Prestige may hinder the growth of sympathy by making a man egotistical and self-centered. With eyes upon him, he acquires an attitude of considering himself a social center; he fails to seek the viewpoints of others, to "feel with" others.

Prestige promotes pride and vanity. Thus, the very success which produces an enlarging personal usefulness creates a prestige which may bring about a leader's downfall. In achieving, a person is endangered by the magnifying glass of prestige.

Prestige is often sought by all manner of false means. Almost everything except real worth and achievement is played up by many persons as a means of acquiring prestige. Many leaders give

themselves considerable personal advertising, which, however, quickly reaches a point of saturation. Preachers, especially evangelists, are prone to fall in this way, particularly in their public prayers. Note this sentence from a prayer heard over the radio:

"O Lord, take care of the 2,760 persons converted in our tabernacle during the past year."

A leader's prestige is based in part on his attitudes. If he acts in evident good faith, moral prestige at least, will be accorded him. He will be rated as trustworthy and reliable; his ability-prestige, however, may be of a different sort. The problem becomes acute when a leader's ability is superior, but is accompanied by a low moral rating. If a leader's work removes him almost entirely from associative life, as in the case of the laboratory worker, his moral prestige is of secondary importance. On the other hand, if a person's work requires that he appear daily before large numbers of people and if his dishonesty or immorality is regularly flaunted, then his moral prestige becomes more important than his ability-prestige. People easily learn to copy what they frequently see, especially if it appears in connection with skill or art. The motion picture star's personal life is usually heralded far and wide, and hence her morality level is naïvely copied by the multitudes who are captivated by the film spectacles she produces. In daily public life a person of ability but low morals will set currents of low human values in motion, and

thus overbalance all the gains to progress that his ability may achieve.

Persons are continually estimating each other's worth, but always on the basis of the social values which they hold. Prestige, thus, goes continually back to social values. If prize-fighting is a social value, then the ability of one man to knock another man down for ten seconds will be rated high and that man be given prestige. If the Christian gospel of sacrificial service and love be held truly valuable, then prize-fighting will be rated low and a champion will be accorded the prestige of a jungle beast. To study prestige scientifically it is necessary, hence, to consider the social values of a people.

The main weakness of prestige is its tendency to rely on *appearances*. He who can "appear well" is thereby accorded prestige. Culture in the narrow sense of "manners" is still rated high; the question is not always raised whether fine manners and courtesy are supported by social and personal worth. A man in a soldier's uniform is rated higher than the same person in overalls. Hence, socially shrewd persons may easily hoodwink the public and secure for themselves false recognition.

In order to regain lost prestige, it is often necessary to remain out of public sight for a time and then to appear in a new field of activity. A man in politics who has suffered a serious defeat must usually patiently bide his time and later build up a new prestige.

ESSENTIALS IN THE FUNCTIONING OF SOCIALLY INTELLIGENT LEADERSHIP

Reprinted by permission from Butterworth, Julian E., "Principles of Rural School Administration," pp. 196–201. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

Need for better adjustment.—There is a need for the better adjustment of a group to some phase of its environment. This need may be real or it may not. So long as the group believes, however, that the need actually exists, its motive power is as great as if the need did exist. If there is no foundation in fact for the supposed need for adjustment, the group will recognize this sooner or later. The leadership will then be ignored or repudiated and the group dispersed unless other factors enter to hold it together.

Any one or more of several factors may enter into the belief of a group that there is a situation demanding their attention when this is not the case. Sometimes the evidence, though obvious, is partly or wholly untrue, so that even those who are reasonably critical might form wrong conclusions. The farmer is not infrequently misled by the argument that since farm children are much out of doors and have work to do there, physical education is unnecessary. The neglected factor is that neither work nor outdoor exercise discovers and corrects

certain types of physical deficiencies. Sometimes the leader may wilfully misrepresent the facts to his group. Probably more frequently the group is uncritical because it does not possess the technical knowledge or the ability needed to interpret the facts, or has such confidence in the leader that it does not scrutinize the situation critically enough.

Importance of the situation.—This analysis should lead us to see the incompleteness of the rather widespread notion that leadership grows out of the qualities possessed by the leader rather than out of the demands of the environment. Above the level of purely instinctive reaction, the leader uses his powers to make the group see the situation. Because the personality of the leader is often employed in such vivid manner and because groups sometimes revert to action in such vivid manner on or only a little above the instinctive level, the situation itself is often overlooked. The old-time political meeting is an illustration of how the situation—in this case, the seeking of judgments on governmental questions—is overshadowed by such factors as the band, the red fire, and the emotion-appealing oratory. This does not mean that certain qualities generally attributed to leaders—vision, soundness of judgment, alertness, aggressiveness, poise, etc.,—are unimportant in leadership of the socially intelligent type. Failure to possess them in the right combination means failure in meeting the situation. Possession of part of them only, or of some of them to an inadequate degree, means

only partial success. Many situations crying for adjustment have existed for which no person with the required qualities has been available to direct the necessary activities wisely. Successful leadership demands, therefore, as does the meeting of other problematic situations, a happy union of situation and ability. A good example of this is Grant, who failed as a merchant, but whose peculiar qualities functioned effectively in the military situation that later arose.

The more knowledge of the situation the members of the group possess, and the greater their capacity, their ability to analyze motives, and the dominance of their intellectual over their emotional processes, the greater are the chances that a genuine need must exist in order to get group activity. If we are to make this process of leadership most useful socially, we should direct our attention primarily to the need for adjustment rather than to the qualities possessed by the leader. Emphasis of the latter element to the virtual exclusion of the element of need tends to perpetuate irrational states of mind on this very fundamental social activity. If the need for adjustment exists, attention may then be directed to bring to bear upon it the qualities of leadership required for satisfactory results.

Group recognition of the need.—Growing directly out of the need for adjustment, we have a second element in this process of leadership that has already been hinted at—that is, that the group concerned must be aware of this need. Teachers may

be poor, buildings unhygienic, and curricula meager, but until those concerned know that these things are true we cannot expect group activity that will make leadership effective in that situation. If the schoolhouse burns, maladjustment is obvious. But there are many cases where the group affected does not see the maladjustment until it is pointed out. This may be the case with impure food; its effect may be so gradual that the refined procedures of the laboratory and the training of the specialist must be utilized to show that maladjustment does exist. The group must then be made conscious of the results revealed by the use of scientific procedure. Or, to turn to the field of education, the average person is not likely to realize the dangers in a rural education that aims primarily to keep people on the farms. It is necessary to point out that the farm does not require so many workers since the introduction of machinery; that many children can achieve greater success and happiness in other pursuits than agriculture; and that such a narrow purpose does not provide the conditions favorable to a most complete growth in the individual.

Desire to overcome the difficulty.—But it is not enough that the group be aware of this maladjustment. It must desire to overcome the difficulty.

The creation of this desire is seldom, if ever, a purely intellectual process. One reason for this may be selfishness. A man may know that the school building is unhygienic, but his dislike to pay taxes may warp his judgment. Or, certain preconceptions

may make him actually unable to give the proper weight to facts that are presented. For example, he may recognize that the window space in the schoolhouse is only half what it should be, but the notion that *he* is able to use his eyes after attending such a school makes him unable to appreciate the situation. Because of his particular experience he may not be able to weigh properly such contributing factors as the present tendency for children to use their eyes in close work, such as reading, more than was the case a generation ago, the fact that he possesses an unusually strong pair of eyes, or the fact that he was not in the schoolhouse so many hours as children are now. Many people are motivated by stubbornness, feeling that they must be consistent with positions formerly held. Some few go so far that they are dominated by judgments already formed; their mental activities are directed not by the desire to seek truth but by the determination to find justification for their judgments. At the same time, the interpretation of the facts is often colored by the personality of the individual presenting those facts. So the speaker by a display of tremendous earnestness, by incisive language, or by effective intonation may break down the ordinary restraint exercised over emotional processes and make a direct appeal to activity through the feelings. More than a few think not with ideas nor with facts, but with enticing words and slogans. The effectiveness of other than intellectual appeals will vary among individuals and groups according to their

experience and intellectual discipline. The rural citizen is not, of course, the only member of the human family who has these characteristics.

That men do not always respond to facts as they should is not a reason for assuming that progress is hopeless. Rather that fact should challenge us to further study that we may know how to deal with people wisely. As Jastrow states it so well: " . . . every advance in understanding is a step forward in logic, in the standards of evidence and the rigidity of conclusions, in the conceptions of plausibility and the discipline of the mind."

In our analysis we have now reached this point: there is a need for adjustment in a situation where schools are inferior and the group has been made conscious of this need to such a degree that it is ready to approve or enter upon such activities as seem desirable. What shall those activities be? Who shall represent the group in carrying them out?

IMITATING LEADERS

Reprinted by permission from Gillette, John Morris, "Rural Sociology," pp. 516–519. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922.

The significance of leadership cannot very well be observed until a somewhat definite meaning is attached to the term. The necessary implication of the word may be brought into perspective by the use of particular cases. A dirty urchin and an aristocratic lady alike exercise the function of leadership in respect to a dog through the instrumentality of a chain, in which cases physical superiority and necessitous instincts play the chief rôle. Superficially, the gaily attired drum major marching at the head of a band is the epitome of the leader, for does not the band go where he leads and does it not respond to his spectacular gyrations? Yet the cynical observer doubtless would assert that he exercises less influence over the band than on the minds of the spectators and that his chief asset resides in his gay uniform and spectacular movements. Then there is the body of troops, which, under its commander, goes through the manual of arms, and performs all sorts of field maneuvers, filing right and left, marching and countermarching. Surely the commander is the genuine leader. But, so far, he is only a drill master and the responses which his

troops make are purely formal and mechanical, not due to individual initiative and foresight, but to the will of a superior officer clothed with absolute authority.

Thus, by a process of exclusion and ascent, we arrive at the point where it is seen that leadership must be invested with certain characteristics and qualifications which enable it to exercise particular functions relative to free but susceptible human beings. I shall express in a few words what I consider the prime requisites of a productive rural leadership, namely, the power of initiative, organizing ability, sympathy with human aims, trained intelligence, and vision, or outlook. That these qualifications must be present in the individual who assumes the function of leadership, at least to a measurable degree, and that their absence in working form from all of the inhabitants of any given community precludes the possibility of the manifesting of any resident leadership in that particular community, are statements which probably will prove acceptable to all.

In order that the place and function of the leader in the rural community may be intellectually visualized, it may be well to depict and exposit the sociological view of the rôle of the exceptional man in relation to society and the community. The well-balanced sociological view puts the capable individual into relationship with the concept of social progress, not making him exclusively responsible for it, as does the "great man" theory of Carlyle, not

investing him with exclusive power to bring about changes in society; but constituting him a very essential factor in the realization of movements and transformations which advance collective interests. Within the scope of this limited conception, then, that part of progress which is due to direct human intervention is brought about by the few human beings who constitute the innovating class. By reason of their inborn capacity and developed ability they constitute an exceptional class. Out of this class arise the inventors, discoverers, creators of all kinds of new ideas, whether social or "material." Without this class of innovators the structure of society would remain relatively fixed and the readjustments which are essential to secure a greater measure of satisfaction would not take place.

In striking contrast with this small class, the great mass of human beings living in any particular society are regarded as static relative to society. Were the affairs of society to be left with them exclusively, they would forever remain as they are and have been, except for the perturbations set up by means of other agencies. Instead of having innovating, creating minds, these people are endowed with imitating minds. They are able to follow example, to fashion after the models already produced, but not to initiate, in the sense of projecting the new. As a consequence, the preponderating majority of people are followers only.

In seeking to apply this conception, which, I think it will be agreed, essentially depicts the historic

situation, it, at first thought, might be concluded that if a community possessed no rare individuals of the first class it could not hope to make progress, unless happily it could borrow innovators. This makes necessary a closer inspection of the second, the imitating class, to discover if the case is that extreme, and, fortunately, there are signs sufficient to renew our shrinking optimism. Since democracy is so largely constituted of common people, it is a satisfaction to learn that there is no such thing as a "dead level" in it which is inevitable.

Recalling the statement which was previously made regarding the qualifications a leader must have—initiative, organizing ability, sympathy, trained intelligence, outlook—it is apparent that an imitative mind may possess all of these attributes, and as a consequence it may prove serviceable as a community leader. It does not follow that a talented person could not perform a greater work, or that an effort should not be made to retain and develop all the latent talent possible in rural districts. When it is recalled that most of the businesses are operated by the imitating class and that the great majority of governments have merely imitative minds, it becomes apparent that the noncreative mind may have sufficient intelligence to appreciate what has been worked out by others elsewhere and to see the advisability of taking steps to appropriate the plan on the part of its own community. This is also vision, and organizing ability; for appreciation of what has been done is vision,

and the power to appropriate is organizing ability, or the ability to reinstate organizations. Beyond this there must be a reservoir of energy that speeds the work, and a sympathy with life which makes the undertaking seem desirable.

All of this assumes, of course, that somewhere there must be leaders of the creative kind, otherwise there would be no plans to borrow. And because of this we are able to see the reason why the democracy of community life is not forced to remain a dead level. Given the creative power somewhere resident in society, and given the sympathetic, intelligent, initiating, imitative mind resident in all communities, and the power of the community, whether urban or rural, to lift itself to a higher level is provided for. As in the arena of national society the creative minds are passing down their ideas and plans to the masses of people, and the life of the whole people is thereby enabled to approximate the higher ideals of the talented class, so in rural communities the coöperative democracy may be heightened and improved by developing a resident leadership capable of appropriating the efficient plans of others.

Chapter VII

COÖPERATION AMONG LEADERS

THE purpose of community leadership is to get certain things accomplished, in the realm of personal character and community action, in the local community. It is well to keep this goal in mind, for there are great temptations to lose sight of it or to substitute another purpose in its place.

Several organized agencies are working under leadership in the local community. Among these are the church, the school, the home, the Chamber of Commerce or other business organization, and the Farm Bureau or other type of agricultural body. In this day of complex relationships, these agencies often find their functions so overlapping that it is difficult, in certain zones of their activities, to distinguish the field of one from that of the other. Who can tell the difference in the country community between a church reception, a school festival, or a Grange supper? We cannot then arrive at any wise conclusions with regard to the coöperation of these various organized forces, without first analyzing the functions of each.

1. *The Church.*—The primary business of the church is to be the community center of inspiration and religious education. Always the church has been

recognized as the institution to perform this function. If the community may be considered as a body, the church is the soul of that body. It is well to impress church leaders with this fact just at this time, when so much is being said about the church as a social center. Many men who seek to be rural leaders are making a grave mistake in the placing of the emphasis on church *activities.* A minister recently said to me: "We have come to understand now that there is nothing to this spiritual religion proposition, and that the church is to be a social center for the community." A very noted woman lawyer some time ago, in arguing that the ministry would soon furnish a splendid opportunity for professional employment for women, gave as her chief reason that "the church is coming to be recognized as merely a social center." With such statements made by radical leaders of this type, one cannot be surprised at the general opposition of the ultra-conservative to the entire community movement. Let such rest assured that, whatever emergency activities may claim the temporary attention of the church, she will normally be found occupying her place as the center of inspiration and religious education. Her leader will preach the gospel, impart religious instruction, bring comfort to those who are sick and in trouble, give religious recognition to the solemnity of funerals and weddings, and perform such rites and ceremonies as the religious beliefs and traditions of the community require. If this task is all well ac-

complished, it will occupy the larger portion of his time and energies.

2. *The School.*—The chief business of the school is to educate the youth of the community. This refers primarily to the function of imparting instruction. In her splendid book on "Country Life and the Country School," Miss Mabel Carney[1] speaks thus of the leadership of the rural teacher: "I mean a leadership that *first occupies itself with its legitimate task of teaching a good school,* for no teacher can gain or hold the confidence of any community who is not first of all a good teacher. I mean a leadership that begins by leading dirt, double desks, and unsightly stoves out of the schoolroom, and by leading soap and water, ventilation, and better teaching into it." In other words, the business of the teacher is to conduct the very best possible sort of school.

3. *The Home.*—The home is still the primary unit in the community. Whatever may be said about the changing status of the home as a factor in modern civilization may apply to city conditions, but cannot in any such degree apply to rural conditions. Dr. T. N. Carver says:[2] "The fact that agriculture is still a family industry where the work and the home life are not divorced, and where all members of the family participate in the common toil for the support of the home, gives a natural basis for a type of family life which it is very difficult to maintain in

[1] Carney, Mabel, "Country Life and the Country School," Chap. 9, p. 192. Chicago: Row, Peterson & Company, 1912.

[2] Carver, T. N., "Principles of Rural Economics," Chap. 1, p. 21. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1911.

the city. Educators will generally agree that one of the greatest weaknesses of the city home is the lack of a common business interest among all the members of the family. City parents who are wise will always recognize this weakness and take pains to overcome it. But the typical farmer's family requires no artificial methods to bring its various members together on the basis of a common interest. There are business problems, aside from the perennial one of household expenditures, to be discussed in the family council—questions of selling as well as buying for consumption. All these things add to the strength of the bonds which hold the rural family together. One result is that the rural family is a stable institution, whereas the city family has become a relatively unstable one. This relative instability is shown in several ways. In the first place, the divorce rate is much higher in the cities than in the country districts. In the second place, the city families tend to die out through celibacy, sterility, and various other agencies, whereas the rural families persist."

Miss Carney says:[3] "The farm home is the center of all interest; it is the heart of the whole farm. . . . All social movements in any way related to the welfare of country living must be rooted in the home. . . . The school, the church, the Grange and the Farmers' Institute, to gain life and permanency, must establish vital connections with it. The home,

[3] Carney, Mabel, "Country Life and the Country School," Chap. 2, pp. 18, 19. Chicago: Row, Peterson & Company, 1912.

in other words, absorbs the efforts of all other socializing agencies and redirects these efforts into the lives of those for whom it is maintained." In the country, the home is still that nurturing center of family life. No matter how much it may be merged with other homes in social union, or to what extent its members may be absorbed into special social groups, yet because of the very nature of the farm home, it retains its distinctive place as an institution in the community. The father and the mother, as leaders of a family group, must be recognized in any consideration of leadership in the local rural community.

4. *The Agricultural Organization.*—This represents the grouped industrial life of the community. Just as laborers in a certain trade find a common bond of organization in the work by which they make a living; just as merchants and manufacturers and captains of industry find in their various allied interests bonds of union; so in the business of agriculture, farmers of a local country area find a center of common interest about which they organize. No matter what other interests may be discussed at the meetings of this organization, if it is to endure, its fundamental interest will be agricultural. Its members may be church trustees, school directors, homemakers—but they are not thus organized to conduct the church, or run the school, or develop the home; their one business in this organization is that of farming. They are primarily and distinctively farmers. They will, in this united form, interest

themselves in whatever has to do with production, marketing, securing farm supplies, financing farm enterprises, and means of communication and transportation for purposes of convenience of transacting farm business.

If the lines of demarcation separating these institutions could be thus carefully drawn, the entire situation would be considerably simplified. But some of these institutions of the rural community are in anything but a normal condition, and the abnormal situation calls for the greatest willingness to coöperate on the part of rural leaders in all of these four realms.

As a matter of fact, we have not in the rural community "the church" but "the churches." Here is created a delicate situation not only within that institution itself but in its every relation with the other forms of organized life in the community. Outstanding cases both of coöperation and its lack may be plentifully found. Recently the writer visited a town where, in the same day, an attempt was being made to hold a Farmer's Institute and a street carnival. The explanation was found in the fact that the pastor of one church was the secretary of the Farmer's Institute and had sought to make the meeting day of this organization a time of importance in the community. The pastor of the other church feared that his rival would in this way win the farmers, so he arranged and conducted the street carnival to keep people away from the Institute. This is an

unusual and extreme case, but it illustrates well the lack of coöperation among local leaders.

Even where there is no such intended rivalry, it is very difficult for the minister to take a warranted and legitimate interest in the activities of other organizations without being charged by a proportion of the people themselves with ulterior motives for the upbuilding of his own institution at their expense.

We have agreed that the primary business of the church is to be a center of inspiration and religious education for the community. This would be a somewhat clearly defined function if it were not for the fact that the leader often finds that there is not, in a real sense of the word, *a community in which the church can function.* It is quite useless to try to inspire a community if there is no community to present itself to be inspired. The old recipe book, in giving directions for cooking a rabbit, naïvely remarked, "First, catch your rabbit."

An unsocialized condition in the community makes it imperative that the first leader recognizing that lack shall take up the task of socializing the community. There is no time to argue whether it is the business of the church, the school, the home, or the agricultural organization to do this work. It is the business of any agency that can bring about needed results. So it frequently happens that the church begins not only to inspire and educate toward social activities, but actually to set the example by conducting such activities. Those who oppose a departure

from old-time accepted usages usually do so on the ground that social life is "of the devil," and that the church should, therefore, have nothing to do with it. Those who favor such usages contend that social life is "not to be given over to the devil, but redeemed for the uses of the Kingdom."

If the professional leaders of churches in the community get this vision of the church as a social center, the latter case in that neighborhood is worse than the first. Neighborhoods may now be found where three ministers are vying with one another, each trying to make his church the social center. Where this is being done, it is not in the interest of getting things accomplished in the realm of personal character and community activity, but in the interest of building up narrow sectarianism out of awakened social tendencies. Where such conditions exist, the only righteous way in which the church can socialize the community is through the coöperation of all the ministers, for that purpose, and with such arrangements as to the use of buildings, grounds, and the like, as may seem best to all concerned. In a certain Kansas town, a Methodist preacher and a United Brethren preacher each began marking out a playground in his church yard and assembling play equipment. They saw the light before it was too late, and went arm in arm to the public school grounds, where they worked together to develop a playground for all the children of the community under the leadership of the school principal.

Again, if the school life were found by the leader

to be in a normal condition, the teaching of the school would be a comparatively simple matter. But the school life is many times found to be in an abnormal condition. There is need of better social relationships among the children. In such cases there is need to awaken among the parents more interest in the school. Perhaps consolidation of districts should be brought about. Probably a high school should be established. To achieve any of these results, there must be brought about a social awakening; and the school thus becomes a social center.

This "social center" movement on the part of the school ought to be heralded with delight by other leaders of the community. I believe that it *is* usually so heralded. But, on the very day when this was written, a church district superintendent, in discussing this matter with me, violently opposed the school as a social center, saying that if it became such, it would rob the church of its best means of reaching and holding the young. But the goal of the church is not to have such a social life that she shall reach and hold the young for herself. The goal is that she shall so inspire the lives of the youth of the community with Christian ideals that they will go out into the social life of the community and practice these ideals.

Wise church leaders will rejoice when they, as citizens interested in public welfare, can join with the teacher at the school and with leaders of other organizations in developing the right kind of social

life for the community. This coöperation among institutional leaders in the rural community might well be much more generally practiced. It is painful occasionally to find a minister who decries as godless everything that is conducted under school leadership, and a school teacher who warns his pupils not to become too much involved in church activities lest they interfere with efficient school accomplishment. It is refreshing to turn from these painful situations to one in which the minister impresses the young people with the fact that one of the surest evidences of personal religion is honesty and efficiency in school activities, and the teacher constantly emphasizes the fact that no education is complete without religious education and urges all the pupils to adjust their lives to conform to high Christian ideals.

In any relationship among local leaders, care must be taken that there shall be no interference of one in the domain of the other. The leader in church or social or agricultural organization will ordinarily overstep his bounds if he publicly dictates with regard to the conduct of the school. Also the school leader will be out of place if he tries to lead also in the domain of the other leaders. Instances have been known in which, by such a maladjustment, the minister came to be looked upon as leading a certain school faction opposed to the teacher, and the teacher was regarded as leader of a certain church faction seeking to oust the preacher; and both were suspected of trying to get rid of the County Agricultural Agent. The recognition of leadership re-

quires that the leader of a given organization have undisputed sway in his field.

Again, if the country home, as an institution of the community, were on the whole in a normal condition or in a normal relationship to other homes, the situation would be further simplified. But, unfortunately, often neither condition is present. Theoretically, the child would best get his ideas of cleanliness, discipline, and industry from the home. In many instances, however, if he gets such ideas at all, he must get them outside the home, through the school, the 4-H club, or from some other contact. The greatest compliment, I think, ever passed on a rural teacher, and at the same time the most severe charge hurled at the country home, was the remark of the boy who said, wistfully, as he lingered a moment at the close of the school day, "I wish I lived in a place like this." Theoretically, that boy would best spend his whole evenings at home with the family. But if there were only one warm room in the house, and that the kitchen and dining-room combined, it might be better to bring a different member of that family every night in the week to some club function at the schoolhouse until they all realized the contrast and made their home a decent place for an American family to live.

However, in this new socializing process, the leaders of various organizations will recognize the wisdom of securing the coöperation of the parents, and also of coöperating with the parents in developing a still better type of home life. Types of religious edu-

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cation, such as graded lessons that call for work of a pleasant nature at home, will be a much better way for the church leader to coöperate than by having too many class meetings that call the children away from their homes. The plan of "school credits for home work," when properly executed, supplies a method by which the teacher may assist the parents in developing discipline and industry in the home.

One of the great advantages of the 4-H Club movement is that its projects are for the most part centered in the home or on the family farm. Perhaps no other organization so successfully maintains itself in right relationship to the home. Parent-teacher meetings form a means by which the parents may become truly interested in the school. The church, in turn, may recognize this family unit through mother-daughter meetings and father-son meetings. The socializing movement will be further advanced if local leaders will encourage a revival of that good old country custom of three or four families meeting together at a farm home for informal social evenings.

No leader must be jealous to retain control of this social life of the community. In fact, no leader can retain control of it, for this is the one phase of life in which people will assemble when and where and under what auspices they wish. It is the business of local leaders to awaken desire for social activities, give guidance to them wherever possible, and so fill and thrill the people with high ideals that the spon-

taneous social life of the community will be on the highest plane of expression.

We come now to the discussion of coöperative leadership with reference to the agricultural organization of the community. Here, again, the entire situation would be very simple if there were a commonly accepted American form of agricultural organization. But this phase of rural organization also is sometimes in an abnormal condition. Farmers' Institutes, Farmers' Unions, Granges, Farmers' Clubs, and other such organizations clamor for recognition, and sometimes two or more of these are present in the same community.

Leaders in other phases of organized life can do much to bring order out of this chaos. Any attempt to create among farmers a class consciousness, such as is found among certain groups of laboring men in the cities, is not to be countenanced for a moment. The situations are not in the least parallel. Farm owners, tenants, and hired help in the country are on a common social level, mingle freely, and often establish ties of family relationship. Country dwellers and town merchants often meet each other on common ground also, and establish ties that bind into one community. Agricultural organization should include the entire community, farmers, teachers, ministers, merchants, and all others. These are all close to the soil, and all together have an agricultural environment.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN DOMINANT PERSONALITIES

Reprinted by permission from Steiner, J. F., "The American Community in Action," pp. 36–41. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1928.

The prominent rôle of leadership in community development can hardly be over-emphasized. The nature of the community, its characteristics and achievements, can to a very considerable degree be traced to the quality and activities of its influential people. A community that possesses capable leaders who manage to work together with a minimum of disagreement has a great advantage over a community where clashes between dominant personalities are a frequent occurrence. Students of community problems are constantly reminded of the large amount of disorganization for which personal rivalries and conflicts are more or less directly responsible.

While these clashes between ambitious leaders frequently disrupt communities, this result occurs only when the people themselves are drawn into the struggle and line up in support of rival factions. There is no doubt but that the tendency to transform personal feuds into community fights varies widely in different places. The reason why some communities may become more readily involved in

these factional disturbances is not easy to explain. It may be that certain types of personality more readily invoke a following; certain issues may more easily stir up jealousies and animosities, or through long habit and tradition the people of a community may be strongly inclined towards factionalism.

The most unfortunate type of factional conflict is that which grows out of purely personal rivalries and disagreements not closely associated with community issues. This can be seen best in the feuds between rival individuals and families in isolated mountain communities, or in the rivalries between the owners of two banks both of whom are striving for control of the community's financial affairs. In such cases the community has nothing to gain by being drawn into the conflict, which, because of its personal nature, is likely to be characterized by a great deal of bitterness and ill feeling.

When these conflicts between leaders are associated with important community matters such as political issues, school problems, or the promotion of community improvements, the lining up of followers is an encouraging sign, for it is the first step towards reaching a decision concerning matters of importance to the community. Nevertheless, especially in a small community where relationships are largely on a personal basis, these struggles between contending policies tend to be viewed in terms of the personalities of the rival leaders, with too little attention to the facts involved in the issues at stake. This becomes frequently true in the field of

politics, in cities as well as in small communities, where political aspirants acquire skill in convincing the public that their personal ambitions are intimately bound up with the best interests of all the people. In this as well as in other fields of activity, community leaders may be quite sincere in their advocacy of certain policies and entirely unaware that their personal ambitions are bringing about unnecessary clashes of interest detrimental to community solidarity.

Where leadership is capable of adjusting itself to changing conditions and is not embittered by long and painful struggles, organization rather than disorganization is the final outcome of these conflicts between dominant personalities in the community. Unfortunately, it is only too common for causes to become bound up with uncompromising leaders incapable of acknowledging defeat, whose activities, ostensibly for the common good, bring little else to the community than further disorganization. The three instances given below may be regarded as fairly typical of leadership conflicts frequently found in small towns and rural communities.

a. There is an intense rivalry and hatred between the editors of the two local papers which indicates a certain decay descending upon the town. As both papers are Democratic and politics run by the same machine from year to year furnish no real controversial news, they have seemingly adopted the policy of disagreeing upon all other issues that arise. In the trouble with the Community House, one paper

actively supported the institution not from any interest in social work but because the other was leading the opposition. It is of common occurrence to see one paper referred to by the other as that "scurrilous" sheet. Since both papers have considerable influence in the community, the constant bickerings between the editors tend to divide the people unnecessarily and make it exceedingly difficult for any undertaking to receive wide community support.

b. One of the factors that destroyed community unity in the town of S—— was the intense business rivalry of two influential men, Mr. Brown and Mr. Graves. The two rival banks in the town were under the control of these men, and each did everything in his power to line up the business interests in support of his banking institution. Both belonged to the Methodist church, and when the time came to build a new church, they divided the congregation on the question of selecting a new location. Mr. Brown wanted the church site to be in the residential section of the town where he lived, while Mr. Graves insisted that it be located farther downtown near property which he owned. The latter finally won out by persuading an old man who was very wealthy to give a large sum to the church on condition that the downtown site be chosen. The entire church membership was split into two factions over this issue, and it has taken years to heal the bitter feelings that were aroused. A similar difficulty arose when the location of the new school building came up for decision. The people formed into two factions led

by the same men, and a long struggle ensued before the matter was decided. The children of these two rivals have taken over the hostile attitudes of their fathers, thus giving continued life to the old factional spirit.

c. The question of school consolidation, which had been discussed for a long time, finally divided the community into two opposing factions. The leaders of the two factions, Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Stone, although both stewards in the Methodist church, became bitter enemies and stopped at nothing in order to gain their ends. When the question came to a vote, Mr. Stone won out through the unexpected device of voting some Negroes. This was considered foul play, but it was sufficient to defeat the plans for the consolidated school. After this controversy the Armstrongs and the Stones never spoke to each other. Mr. Armstrong and his wife transferred their memberships from the Methodist to the Baptist church, and the feud continued until the death of Mr. Stone a few years later.

From this analysis of the community in action, it becomes clear that disorganization presents itself in various guises and plays different rôles in the process of community change. To view it merely as a destructive force that carries deterioration inevitably in its wake is very inadequate as well as misleading. It should rather be thought of as a community force, full of possibilities for both good and ill, depending upon the nature of the situation with which it is concerned. Whether disorganiza-

tion takes the form of a breakdown in community control or a conflict between groups with its resulting disunity, any effort to evaluate it must consider not merely the immediate confusion that goes along with it, but its final effects on community development.

The disorganization that grows out of the multiplicity of divisions within a community is in itself nothing to be disturbed about. The large variety of group relationships that have become so common in this country has resulted in opening up new worlds of activity to people who otherwise would have no escape from narrowness and provincialism. To attempt to avoid the confusion that grows out of diversity by placing restrictions on the right to organize is unthinkable, for it would be a step backward into a rigid social order that would stupefy individual initiative and retard normal progress. Disorganization of a destructive kind enters into such a situation only when these varied and unlike groups become suspicious, jealous, and intolerant of each other, or so self-centered and individualistic in their attitude that they give no attention to their larger relation to the whole community.

Group conflict, also, may be regarded as a normal and salutary process, for adjustment to changing conditions involves calling into question existing ideas and policies and the formation of new groups designed to bring about the changes desired. Since the forces of conservatism that tend to resist change are so deep-seated and powerful, dissatisfaction with

the *status quo* must ordinarily develop into the stage of conflict before the old gives way to the new. The disorganization which is a product of group conflict is not detrimental to community welfare unless the conflict becomes personal and vindictive in character and is carried to such an extreme that stability is entirely destroyed.

Generally speaking, disorganization not only precedes reorganization, but is an essential part of the process of adjustment which must go on continually in any progressive society. The apparently inevitable tendency for our established agencies of control to become bound up with the past makes it necessary for their methods and policies to be called into question. The children who rebel against school attendance render a service by directing attention to the problem of building a better school. The young people who break away from the church hasten the day when religious organizations will reconstruct their tenets and methods in accord with the requirements of the modern world. The disorganization that accompanies this revolt against established rules and modes of behavior becomes dangerous only when it is so widespread that people begin to lose faith in the possibility of readjustment. One of the hopeful aspects of modern community life is the comparatively ease and rapidity with which changes do occur. The point of chief significance in an evaluation of community institutions is not their ability to overcome disintegrating influences, but rather their readiness to respond to changing conditions.

Chapter VIII

CHARACTERISTICS OF LEADERS

THE qualities which one must possess to be a successful leader are so varied and unlimited that it is impossible completely to outline or define them. It may be that the very complexity of our advanced civilization makes it the more difficult to designate such qualities. Perhaps the tendency itself to study what characteristics might make for leadership would cause some artificial considerations and conclusions.

Among primitive peoples there have been outstanding leaders, and we may be sure that they did not become leaders as the result of any special study or of adopting any particular characteristics which they had been advised would make them successful in their positions. It would seem, then, that we might to some extent understand what are desirable qualities of leadership by studying the chiefs of primitive tribes and learning what were the characteristics that elevated them to their positions.

Hutton Webster, in his study of "Primitive Individual Ascendancy," gives us a description of Jalina-piramurana, who was a headman of an Australian tribe some fifty years ago:[1]

[1] *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. 12, pp. 46–56. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

"During the time I was with them there was only one headman who had supreme control over the whole tribe. From his extremely polished manners and his gestures I named him 'the Frenchman.' He was feared and greatly respected by his own and by the neighboring tribes. Neither his two brothers, both of them inferior to him in bravery and oratorical powers, nor the elder men presumed to interfere with his will or to dictate to the tribe except in minor matters. It was he who decided disputes, and his decisions were received without appeal. Even the neighboring tribes sent messengers to him with presents of bags, pitchers, red ochre, skins, and other things. He decided when and where the ceremonies of circumcision and initiation should take place. His messengers called together people from a circle of a hundred miles to attend the peace festivals, to attend his councils, or for other matters which were considered to affect the welfare of the tribe. I have often been invited to attend his councils when they proposed to celebrate any grand ceremony. He possessed wonderful powers of oratory, making his listeners believe anything he suggested, and at all times ready to execute his commands. His disposition was not naturally cruel or treacherous, as was that of many of the Dieri, but he was, when not excited, kind, considerate, patient, and very hospitable. I never saw anything low or mean in him. As a rule the Dieri, being separated from all but their own relations, speak ill of each other; but I have never heard anyone speak of

this man Jalina-piramurana but with the greatest respect and even reverence.

"In his account of the natives of British New Guinea, Dr. Seligmann refers to the case of Geboka Namo as showing how greatly the influence generally wielded by chiefs can be exceeded when a suitable man arises. Geboka Namo is not only head of his own village, but all members of the eastern section of the Garia tribe, to which he belongs, admit his authority and follow him to war, as they did his father before him. His father, indeed, was so celebrated a fighter that the neighboring Sinaugolo asked him to lead them to war, and to this day the son Geboka Namo, who is recognized as the war chief of the Sinaugolo as well as of the Caria, exerts a very real influence among the Sinaugolo. . . .

"The third figure is that of Kuriolv, who, Dr. Rivers declares, almost entirely dominated the Todas at the time of his visit in 1902. Kuriolv acted as leader of the Toda council, or *Naim*, a deliberative body of five or more members representing various clans. He was very intelligent and enjoyed a reputation for eloquence and great persuasive powers. When persuasion failed, he probably resorted to some kind of intimidation. He seemed to me to afford an excellent example of the process by which one man may bring about considerable changes in the laws and regulations of a community; though I was told in several instances that the Todas would revert to their old customs as soon as Kuriolv died."

In the same treatise [2] another description is given of Pomare the Second, who was the chief or king of the island of Tahiti:

"Tall, and proportionably stout, but not corpulent, his person was commanding, being upwards of six feet high. His head was generally bent forward, and he seldom walked erect. His complexion was not dark, but rather tawny; his countenance rather heavy, though his eyes at times beamed with intelligence. . . .

"He was, however, though heavy in his appearance and indolent in his habits, inquisitive, attentive, and more thoughtful perhaps than any other native of the islands—a keen observer of everything that passed under his notice, although at the time he would not appear to be paying particular regard. He was not only curious and patient in his inquiries, laborious in his researches, but often exhibited a great degree of originality. I have sometimes been in his company, when he has kept a party of chiefs in constant laughter, as much from the coolness with which his expressions were uttered, as the humor they contained. He was not, however, fond of conviviality or society, but appeared to be more at ease when alone, or attended only by one of two favorite chiefs. In mental application, Pomare certainly exceeded every other Tahitian; and, had he been free from practices which so banefully retarded his progress, and enjoyed the advantage of a regular liberal

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–56. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

education, there is every reason to believe the development of his intellect would have shown that it was of no inferior order."

In the same article,[3] Webster quotes a statement of Parkman concerning the Indian chief Pontiac:

"The fact that Pontiac was born the son of a chief would in no degree account for the extent of his power; for, among the Indians, many a chief's son sinks back into insignificance, while the offspring of a common warrior may succeed to his place. Among all the wild tribes of the continent, personal merit is indispensable in gaining or preserving dignity. Courage, resolution, address, and eloquence are sure passports for distinction. With all these Pontiac was pre-eminently endowed, and it was chiefly to them, urged to their highest activity by a vehement ambition, that he owed his greatness. He possessed a commanding energy and force of mind, and in subtlety and craft could match the best of his wily race. But, though capable of acts of magnanimity, he was a thorough savage, with a wider range of intellect than those around him, but sharing all their passions and prejudices, their fierceness and treachery. His faults were the faults of his race, and they cannot eclipse his nobler qualities. His memory is still cherished among the remnants of many Algonquin tribes, and the celebrated Tecumseh adopted him for his model, proving himself no unworthy imitator."

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–56. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

After Pontiac's death, Tecumseh took up his mission. He is described in the following terms:[4]

"He hated the whites as the destroyers of his race, but prisoners and the defenseless knew well that they could rely on his honor and humanity and were safe under his protection. When only a boy—for his military career began in childhood—he had witnessed the burning of a prisoner, and the spectacle was so abhorrent to his feelings that by an earnest and eloquent harangue he induced the party to give up the practice forever. In later years his name was accepted by helpless women and children as a guaranty of protection even in the midst of hostile Indians. Of commanding figure, nearly six feet in height and compactly built, of dignified bearing and piercing eye, before whose lightning even a British general quailed, with the fiery eloquence of a Clay and the clear-cut logic of a Webster; abstemious in habit, charitable in thought and action, brave as a lion, but humane and generous withal—in a word, an aboriginal American knight—his life was given to his people, and he fell at last, like his father and his brothers before him, in battle with the destroyers of his nation, the champion of a lost cause and a dying race."

Many other reports could be cited showing the characteristics which early travelers recognized as belonging to men who naturally rose to places of leadership among primitive peoples. Now, if such

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–56. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

characteristics can be discovered, it might be possible for persons who find themselves in responsible places to acquire the characteristics that would help them to fill their positions with satisfaction to themselves and to their followers.

Among primitive peoples, there is no doubt that size had much to do with giving one prestige. This was important, since physical combat was the method of settling disputes, and size and physical strength would be looked upon as a great advantage owing to that fact. However, when size was accompanied by lack of other ability or by cowardice, the big person became rather a laughing stock of the tribe.

As one studies public men, he is impressed with the fact that many of them are of fairly imposing size. However, there is a dignity of bearing by which even a person of diminutive stature may overcome that handicap. It may also be that the surprise element which people experience when a person of diminutive size *does* show all of the other characteristics of leadership serves to win the followers more closely to him.

It is to be noted that reference has been made to voice and personal bearing of those who have been raised to positions of power among primitive peoples. In educational circles not enough has been made of this important factor in leadership. The tendency has been to assume that if one knew his subject matter thoroughly, he need not have the ability of impressing others with it. Too often, in

institutions of learning, the work in public speaking and expression is considered a mere side issue both by executives, members of science faculties, and students. It is true that a great store of knowledge may help one to overcome the deficiency of not being able to impress others with ability. But how pitiable it is for one to have the information as to facts and the knowledge of technique and yet not be able to "get it across" to other people!

A teacher of my acquaintance who presided over the destinies of children in the fifth grade was possessed of a most lovable disposition and was well trained in teaching-methods. The children were greatly attracted to her and were inclined to imitate her in all things. She possessed a very high, shrill, rasping voice and her schoolroom became an echoing chamber for that voice. Since she spoke in that voice to the children, they proceeded unconsciously to imitate her; every child in the room developed an unpleasing voice, much to the dismay of parents who dealt with the children in their homes. A voice of that kind evidences extreme nervousness and no one is very willing to depend upon a high-strung, nervous, unbalanced person.

A director of family welfare work was speaking recently of a young woman whom he had employed to deal with the clients of the organization. In praising her for her manner of successfully handling family problems, he remarked, "She has an ideal telephone voice." When asked to explain further, he said that often the client who calls over the tele-

phone is either worried over family affairs or angry with regard to some seeming oversight on the part of the agency. The young woman in charge, by the quality of her voice, quieted the fears or assuaged the anger of the person at the other end of the line. Doubtless everyone knows of certain organization leaders whom he would rather not have talk to him over the telephone and of others to whom he delights to listen.

Public addresses presented by means of the radio have given evidence of the importance of voice and bearing in one who would have others look to him with respect. Why is it that one man receives a high salary as an "announcer" and another man is not allowed on the "mike" a second time? Certainly, where no physical appearance or gestures of any kind are in evidence and yet one must attract and hold a large number of people, great importance must be given to this matter of quality of tone. One of the best ways in which to cultivate a tone that is pleasing and effective is by training one's self in ordinary conversation.

A young person sometimes makes the mistake of seeking to imitate the manner of speech and behavior of an older person whom he admires. While it is natural for one to do this, yet it is not by this method that one develops the best voice and manner for himself. One factor that puts one across in leadership is that of *uniqueness*. No two persons are alike, and the point at which one's personality is differentiated from that of all others is very likely

to be the point at which his own individual power begins. One needs above all else to *be himself* and to develop pleasing expression of his own type. This does not preclude the possibility and desirability of correcting such mannerisms or types of behavior when one comes to discover that they are not the best of which he is capable, if he wishes to bring the right response from those whom he seeks to lead.

Another characteristic that is referred to by many observers of primitive leaders is one which we may call "poise." To be unexcited, unruffled, undisturbed, both on ordinary occasions and in emergencies, makes for power. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the ordinary individual *is* easily disturbed. Persons who are unaccustomed to group action are likely to be embarrassed and self-conscious when in group formation. With many, this results in the doing of erratic things which would be unnatural to them in their actions as individuals. Since people in group action are likely then to be ill at ease, even under ordinary conditions, they readily come under the direction of a person who is properly poised and always at ease.

During the progress of any organization, emergencies are sure to arise. In an emergency, ordinary people "lose their heads." This is evident in the readiness with which a crowd changes into a mob in some street excitement or in a theatre fire, or when some heinous crime has been committed. In such a crowd the individual loses control of himself and swings with the crowd into a type of action

which is not normal to him as an individual. Doubtless, in such an emergency, he often realizes in a dazed sort of a way the impending danger which is caused by the fact that he has lost control of himself. If a leader appears who has complete control of himself and the situation, and who seems to be in a perfect condition of poise, the crowd will readily come under his direction. This fact has often been demonstrated, as for example when a mob has formed to capture a prisoner from a jail. If some man standing on the steps of the building, speaking quietly but with a voice that has volume and carrying power, assures the gathering mob that justice will be done, and calls each to a sense of his individual responsibility and self-respect, he may persuade them to disperse simply on his urgent request. It has been evidenced also, in the case of a theater fire where there was really no great immediate danger, that when some individual has arisen in his place quietly and calmed the hysteria of the crowd, explaining to them carefully and exactly what was happening, and how in an orderly way they might pass out of the building without anyone being injured—he has by his demonstration saved them from the utter confusion and the fatality that otherwise probably would have been inevitable. One could go on multiplying examples of cases in which poise and self-control have evidenced high qualities of leadership.

But poise itself is not developed instantaneously when the emergency arises. While one person

doubtless has a greater percentage of it by nature than another, owing perhaps to the inheritance of a better-functioning nervous system, yet it may be developed by the average individual through his discovery that it is a necessary possession and through his practice of keeping self-control under all conditions. It becomes then, as it were, "second nature." The confident belief on his part that, no matter how complex and disturbing a situation may appear to be, there is always some best plan of action which will lead out of the dilemma; a rare sense of humor which is not manifested too plainly on the surface; and a stored-up knowledge of the facts in the case—these are some factors that will help him in the manifestation of poise and self-control, whether matters are progressing normally or have arrived at a crisis.

I have referred to the desirability of "possession of the facts in the case." It should be self-evident that no one is qualified to lead unless he knows at least as much about the matter in hand as do the people whom he seeks to lead.

A physician was once driving through a little village and saw at one side of the main street a small number of people watching a feeble-minded man putting a dog through some interesting tricks. As the physician rode on, he said to himself, "It is strange that a fellow like that will sometimes be able to do some things better than a really intelligent man can. Perhaps this fellow could tell me the secret." Turning about, he drove back to the little

group and said to the feeble-minded man, "My friend, I see that you have been successful in training your dog. Now, I have a dog, but I have never been able to teach him anything." "Yas," drawled the fool—"that's just it! You gotta know more'n the dorg, or you can't larn him nothin.' "

Of course, a person may be drafted into a position of leadership when there seems to be no one else available, in a field in which he is unacquainted with the facts. His duty then is to work overtime and acquaint himself with the facts, and *all* the facts, just as quickly as possible. A leader of a great industry said to the writer, with regard to a certain young man in his employ, "We have found it necessary to put that man into one job after another, because of his success in doing things, for which he seemed to have no training whatever, and he has made good every time." On being asked how he accounted for such achievement, he replied, "The young man's insatiable thirst for knowledge of facts, and uncanny ability to attain such knowledge, are responsible. As soon as he sees himself headed for promotion into a new field, he works day and night until he has made himself master of the necessary knowledge in that field." It often happens that when one has to "learn on the job," the learning process is greatly speeded up, owing to the fact that it is motivated by the necessity of making practical use of the knowledge immediately.

Nansen, the Arctic explorer, was once addressing an audience and showing pictures of his companions

in the Arctic regions. He had brought them to a sheer wall of ice which seemed to impede with finality their progress toward civilization and food. As the people in the audience looked at the picture on the screen, as the lecturer paused for them to get the full realization of the disaster, Nansen remarked, in his broken dialect, "It seemed impossible, but when one must, *he very much can do!*" Then he described how the group of explorers overcame the apparently insurmountable difficulty. This is not a bad slogan for a leader to keep in reserve to use when he faces a new task and realizes that he must attain a very great volume of knowledge before he can be successful in new achievements: "When one must, he very much can do."

I have written previously of the factor of "uniqueness," which sets the individual apart from his kind. One way to be certain of this uniqueness is to work at the job harder than is the custom among the common run of people. There is no statement truer than this, even though it may be considered old-fashioned and trite:

> "The heights by great men reached and kept
> Were not attained by sudden flight;
> But they, while their companions slept,
> Were toiling upward in the night."

Since the average individual will not work more than some external compulsion requires, the one who requires *himself* to work overtime, improving himself and his opportunities, will, other things being

equal, excel others and therefore become their leader.

A characteristic often referred to as being evident in the leader is "a willingness to give his life for the followers." It should be said, in the interest of absolute honesty, that the same result is obtained if the followers *think* the leader would sacrifice himself for them. As long as he can keep them thinking so, he will retain their loyalty. However, one cannot for a very long time deceive the people. The crisis will come in which the people will discover that the attitude of self-sacrifice was merely a gesture. Upon this discovery, they will never again have confidence in the leader. "That one should give himself for his people" is a maxim of very ancient origin, and finds its climax in the Christian concept of the Cross.

One could go on enumerating qualities of leadership, and when he had listed all that he could think of, there would still be a large area unexplored. This goes to make up what for want of a better term we call "personality." There are psychologists who seem to believe that we may at some time be able to analyze personal behavior completely, to measure and weigh and compare all of its factors, so that there will be nothing left in the realm of the unknown. Some of us still so greatly love mystery that we hope that time will never come—and (check it up to a childlike simplicity if you like) we stand so in awe of the unknown that we confidently believe there will always be a limitless area beyond the line of the known. What is it that causes a chattering, un-

thinking group at a social affair to grow quiet and take a second look when a certain individual merely moves into their presence? Why is it that, in a public meeting, a speaker will be laboring diligently but without success to quiet a restless crowd—but when another man merely rises on the platform, people suddenly become hushed and ready to listen? If one finds himself in possession of that subtle power which causes people readily to recognize him as worthy of attention and prestige, he is indeed fortunate.

TYPES OF LEADERS

Reprinted by permission from Odum, Howard W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," pp. 90–91. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927.

The study of ancient leaders as found in Plutarch's *Lives* will not only make familiar the old types of leaders but will help the student further to contrast vividly the qualifications of the new leaders as opposed to those of the old. What were the qualities which distinguished Themistocles, Coriolanus, Alcibiades, Pericles, Mark Antony, Cæsar, Demosthenes, Cicero, Aristides? While there were manifest in these leaders the usual qualities of physical and biological fitness, intellectual alertness, industry, persistence, ambition, fortitude, courage, were they not different in many respects from the modern leader? Were they not more impetuous, vehement, intolerant, lavish, cruel, selfish, self-willed, inhuman, ignorant, unscrupulous, treacherous, insolent? Were they more susceptible to flattery, more ruthless in the attainment of personal ends, more pompous, more given to pleasure seeking, more "wordy"? Were their qualities of simplicity, happiness of disposition, friendliness, sociability, patriotism, poise, sympathy, kindness, good humor, merely secondary traits serving as means to the satisfying of indomitable will? Or is the student to conclude

that their qualities were not only the products of the age but necessary reflections of what the people expected of their leaders? In this case, we might study these leaders again under the several categories of their ideals of justice, courage, pride, enthusiasm, subtlety, stoicism, austerity, learning, honor, and morality, and find the same consistency of strong personality and equipment, but manifested in a different environment. Thus we come back again to the influence of the leader upon social custom and morality and the influence of social conditions upon the leader. Types of leadership must vary with changing social conditions.

The teacher and the educator will represent one of these different types of leadership. Perhaps the teacher has exerted a greater influence than has been commonly credited to him in general historic appraisal. The student may study the qualities of leadership in educators by various methods. He may go back to the study of Socrates and other master teachers of antiquity, or he may take the history of modern education and read there the inspiring romance woven out of the work and personalities of the greatest educators. A Froebel, a Herbart, a Pestalozzi, a Locke, a Horace Mann—all reveal important qualities of leadership. One would find in a Herbart, for instance, an emphasis upon the inner freedom, the strong character, the efficiency of the will, discipline, broad-mindedness, the appreciation of beauty, the power of thought, and the general importance of culture. He says, for

example, "most of all, we shall need to have all the power of learning applied to the elevation of man." In Pestalozzi one would find emphasized the qualities of duty and diligence, the strong character, religion and morality, faith in humanity, feeling and imagination, earnestness of purpose, hard work, self-sacrifice, love of truth, and other qualities of health, morality, character. Said Pestalozzi, "If I had to live on bread and water for years and to work in the humblest cottage, I would laugh at any danger and be certain of ultimate success even in my greatest need." John Locke, too, stressed the criteria of religion, tolerance, morals, love of truth, trained intelligence, knowledge, virtue, wisdom, experience, reflection. From thinking, doubting, believing, knowing, willing, we receive, according to Locke, ideas as distinct as those that come to us through our senses. Horace Mann felt that "faith is the only sustainer I have—faith in the improvability of the race." He considered love to be "the universal solvent." Mann shunned partisanship in politics and sectarianism in religion and commended "the fundamental truths of civil and social obligation." He opposed war vigorously and arraigned text-books of military emphasis. To the youth who is asking for a goal of leadership he would say, "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

STANDARDS FOR LEADERSHIP

Reprinted by permission from Odum, Howard W., "Man's Quest for Social Guidance," pp. 93–94. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927.

The American Medical Association has adopted important principles of medical ethics relating to responsibility, patients, delicacy, secrecy, general duties of the profession, relation to the public, and relation to each other. Of special importance in this connection are the duties of the physician to the public and the standards set for holders of fellowships. Physicians as citizens should "give advice concerning the public health of the community. They should bear their full part of enforcing its laws and sustaining the institutions that advance the interests of humanity. They should coöperate especially with the proper authorities in the administration of the sanitary laws and regulations. They should be ready to counsel the public on subjects relating to sanitary policy, public hygiene, and legal medicine." The fellowship pledge of the American College of Surgeons sets a high standard when it requires the following:

"I pledge myself to pursue the practice of surgery with thorough self-restraint and to place the welfare of my patients above all else; to advance constantly in knowledge by the study of surgical literature, the

instruction of eminent teachers, interchange of opinion among associates, the attendance on the important societies and clinics; to regard scrupulously the interests of my professional brothers and seek their counsel when in doubt of my own judgment; to render willingly help to my colleagues and to give freely of my services to the needy. Moreover, I pledge myself, so far as I am able, to avoid the sins of selfishness; to shun unwarranted publicity; dishonest money-making, and commercialism as disgraceful to our profession; to refuse utterly all money trades with consultants, practitioners, or others; to teach the patient his financial duty to the physician and to expect the practitioner to obtain his compensation directly from the patient; to make my fees commensurate with the service rendered and with the patient's rights; and to avoid discrediting my associates by taking unwarranted compensation."

Many other examples of codes for measuring and promoting definite qualities of leadership in the several fields of human activities might be given. The artists have declared their working principles and have set forth standards of practice. The American Institute of Architects has adopted standards of professional practice for its members. The American Society of Newspaper Editors has adopted canons of journalism, setting forth standards with reference to responsibility, freedom of the press, independence, truthfulness and accuracy, im-

partiality, fair play, and decency. Likewise principles of business conduct have been elaborated in various ways. Enough examples have been cited to show the recognized importance of measuring leadership in such definite ways as to require the leader in modern society to give evidence of his right to lead in terms of capacity and equipment. Much evidence indicates that in America there has recently been too great a tendency to follow the unwise leader in politics, in religion, in business. There is, therefore, no more important task than that of establishing in the minds of the coming generation the essentials of leadership.

Dangers in mechanical standards.—There is need, however, for much caution in this study of leadership and the good life as measured by purely mechanical yardsticks. Such methods are, of course, valuable in giving clear-cut analyses of qualities and in contributing to means and methods of social education and direction. The student must keep in mind constantly, however, the dangers that come from standardization of efforts and qualities which may relate to the social personality in any of its forms and manifestations. The tendency of institutions to make all mankind in one mold has been elsewhere emphasized as one of the dangers of a quantity-producing age. The tendency to have all men think alike and act alike is inimical to the development of the strongest personalities. The tendency of the crowd to conform mechanically to custom blocks all

progress. In the consideration, therefore, of the objective measurements of personality and leadership and of the needs of leadership and democracy, the student must constantly avoid the dangers involved in solely objective standards.

THE MARKS OF A LEADER

Reprinted by permission from Cooley, C. R., "Human Nature and the Social Order," Chap. IX, pp. 283–286, 293–294, 297, and 310. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

It is plain that the theory of ascendancy involves the question of the mind's relative valuation of the suggestions coming to it from other minds; leadership depending upon the efficacy of a personal impress to awaken feeling, thought, action, and so to become a cause of life. While there are some men who seem but to add one to the population, there are others whom we cannot help thinking about; they lend arguments to their neighbors' creeds, so that the life of their contemporaries, and perhaps of following generations, is notably different because they have lived. The immediate reason for this difference is evidently that in one case there is something seminal or generative in the relation between the personal impression a man makes and the mind that receives it, which is lacking in the other case.

We are born with what may be roughly described as a vaguely differentiated mass of mental tendency, vast and potent, but unformed and needing direction. This instinctive material is believed to be the outcome of age-long social development in the race, and hence to be, in a general way, expressive of that development and functional in its continuance. The

process of evolution has established a probability that a man will find himself at home in the world into which he comes, and prepared to share in its activities.

Obscurely locked within him, inscrutable to himself, as to others, is the soul of the whole past, his portion of the energy, the passion, the tendency, of human life. Its existence creates a vague need to live, to feel, to act; but he cannot fulfill this need, at least not in a normal way, without incitement from outside to loosen and direct his instinctive aptitude. There is explosive material stored up in him, but it cannot go off unless the right spark reaches it, and that spark is usually some sort of a personal suggestion, some living trait that sets life free and turns restlessness into power.

It must be evident that we can look for no cut-and-dried theory of this life-imparting force, no algebraic formula for leadership.

The prime condition of ascendancy is the presence of undirected energy in the person over whom it is to be exercised: it is not so much thrown upon us from without as demanded from within. The mind, having energy, must work, and requires a guide, a form of thought, to facilitate its working. All views of life are fallacious which do not recognize the fact that the primary need is the need to do. Every healthy organism evolves energy, and this must have an outlet.

If we ask what are the mental traits that distinguish a leader, the only answer seems to be that

he must, in one way or another, be a great deal of a man, or at least appear to be. He must stand for something to which men incline, and so take his place by right as a focus of their thought.

To be a great deal of a man, and hence a leader, involves on the one hand, a significant individuality, and, on the other, breadth of sympathy, the two being different phases of personal caliber, rather than separate traits. It is because a man cannot stand for anything, except as he has a significant individuality, that self-reliance is so essential a trait in leadership.

All leadership takes place through the communication of ideas to the minds of others, and unless the ideas are so presented as to be congenial to those other minds, they will evidently be rejected.

In face-to-face relations, then, the natural leader is one who always has the appearance of being master of the situation. He includes other people and extends beyond them, and so is in a position to point out what they must do next. Intellectually, his suggestion seems to embrace what is best in the views of others, and to embody the inevitable conclusion; it is the timely, the fit, and so the prevalent. Emotionally, his belief is the strongest force present, and so draws other beliefs into it. Yet, while he imposes himself upon others, he feels the other selves as part of the situation, and so adapts himself to them that no opposition is awakened; or possibly he may take the violent method, and browbeat and humiliate a weak mind; there are various

ways of establishing superiority, but in one way or another the consummate leader always accomplishes it.

The onward and aggressive portion of the world, the people who do things, the young and all having surplus energy, need to hope and strive for an imaginative object, and they will follow no one who does not encourage this tendency. The first requisite of a leader is, not to be right, but to lead, to show a way.

DEVELOPING ONE'S ABILITY TO LEAD

Reprinted by permission from Butterworth, Julian E., "Rural School Administration," pp. 212–215. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

Probably every normal person has a desire to become a leader in some one or more of his numerous relationships. Can one do anything to make oneself a leader of a socially intelligent group? In answering this question we must keep in mind what the leadership process involves.

The three essential elements.—In connection with all three of the essential elements, opportunities exist for interaction between the situation requiring leadership and the qualities possessed by every member of the group.

1. In the case of an inadequate playground, it may take no unusual ability to demonstrate the existence of the problem. But if there is a laxness in school attendance, there is required a specialized ability to discover and present its extent, and to formulate hypotheses as to cause. Methods for doing this are already known, and they may be understood and applied by any diligent person of average ability.

2. In creating consciousness of need for change, the leader must not only have control of all the significant facts of the case but must know how to present them to his group. There is here involved

an understanding of psychology, and of its applications through the use of conferences, letters, reports, bulletins, and local leaders. Psychology is now widely taught, while its applications to the type of situation we are concerned with are beginning to receive attention.

3. How far one may train himself to secure the confidence of the group is more questionable. Yet even here much may be done. A reputation for integrity—thinking disinterestedly, standing firmly for what one believes to be right, etc.—is fundamental. One may impress his prospective constituency with his apparent ability in general or on the specific problem at issue. Within limits, he may make himself likable to the group; may develop poise and self-control that command respect; may cultivate an attitude of being open-minded and considerate of the views of others. The superintendent who has in addition to a well-trained mind, earnestly directed to the scientific solution of his professional problems, the ability to remain human in his understanding of and dealings with others is likely to be conspicuously successful as an educational leader.

Clearly, then, one may train himself in ability to lead. This does not imply that everyone could make himself a Horace Mann or a Lincoln, no matter how much he might strive or how favorable the situation might be. It merely means that one may be trained to learn to lead more effectively than he otherwise would. Every experience that increases one's ability to analyze a situation, to make helpful suggestions

from a wide range of available data, to be open-minded in attacking a problem, to make clear to others the desirability of improved procedures, to be fair-minded and tactful in dealing with others, tends to increase one's ability to lead. The person who is born with an unusual intellect or a commanding physique or a winning voice is fortunate. He has the advantage over others less well endowed. But possession of these native capacities does not by any means guarantee success as a leader; in many situations they are not the most significant factors.

Specific situations.—Without neglecting this general training one may also train himself to lead in particular situations. Thus the prospective rural school administrator may take those specialized professional courses that give him needed facts or tend to develop needed powers. The actual administrator may drift along, meeting problems involving elements of leadership on an habitual plane, or he may make each situation that arises in his daily work a means for acquiring necessary facts and for gaining new insight into people's instincts, thoughts, and responses, or for analyzing his deficiencies for that particular task of leadership and overcoming them. Alertness in striving to improve oneself in meeting everyday problems may be the determining factor between marked and mediocre achievement in leadership.

PERSONAL QUALITIES NECESSARY

Reprinted by permission from Cubberley, Elwood P., "Public School Administration," pp. 137–9. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922.

While good training and experience are of fundamental importance to the man who wishes to prepare for educational leadership, certain personal qualities must be added to both if any large success is to be achieved. The man who would be a superintendent of schools—the educational leader—must be clean, both in person and mind; he must be temperate, both in speech and act; he must be honest and square, and able to look men straight in the eye; and he must be possessed of a high sense of personal honor. He needs a good time-sense to enable him to save time and to transact business with dispatch, and a good sense of proportion to enable him to see things in their proper place and relationship. He must have the manners and courtesy of a gentleman, without being flabby or weak. He must not be affected by a desire to stand in the community limelight, or to talk unnecessarily about his own accomplishments. He must avoid oracularism, the solemnity and dignity of an owl, and the not uncommon tendency to lay down the law. A good sense of humor will be found a means of saving grace here,

and will many times keep him from taking himself too seriously.

He must be alert, and able to get things done. This demands a good understanding of common human nature, some personal force, and some genuine political skill. He must know when and how to speak, but especially when and how to keep silent. He must know when and how to take the public into his confidence, and when not to tell what he desires or intends to do. He must know how to accept success without vainglory, and defeat without being embittered. He must keep a level head, so as not to be carried away by some new community enthusiasm, by some clever political trick, or by the great discovery of some wild-eyed reformer. He must, by all means, avoid developing a "grouch" over the situation which confronts him, for a man with that attitude of mind never inspires confidence, and is always relatively ineffective.

He must learn to lead by reason of his larger knowledge and his contagious enthusiasm, rather than to drive by reason of his superior power. The powers and prerogatives which are guaranteed him by law he must know how to use wisely, and he should be able to win new powers and prerogatives from the board largely by reason of his ability to use them well. He must constantly remember that he represents the whole community and not any part or fraction of it, and he must deal equal justice to all. As the representative of the whole community,

he will be wise not to ally himself at all closely with any faction, or division, or party in it.

He must, out of his larger knowledge, see clearly what are the attainable goals of the school system, and how best and how fast to attempt to reach them. From his larger knowledge, too, he must frequently reach up out of the routine of school supervision and executive duties into the higher levels of educational statesmanship. As a statesman, too, he must know how to take advantage of time and opportunity to carry his educational policy into effect.

By conferences, public and private, with leading citizens; by talks to parents at meetings at the schools; by taking the leaders among the teachers into his confidence; by dealing frankly and honestly with the press and the public; by his own written and spoken word, especially in his annual printed reports, and by inciting others to write and speak; and by tact and diplomacy in dealing with the members of his board, he must try to develop such a public opinion that the recommendations which he makes will go through without serious opposition, and he be readily accepted by the people of the community. He must remember, though, that Rome was not built in a day; that it takes a long period of education to accomplish any really fundamental reform; and that it is usually not necessary to rush important matters to an immediate consideration.

It is now that the value of the long years of careful preparation becomes apparent. It is often said

that only the man who is master of his calling, who overruns its mere outlines and knows more about the details of his work than any one else with whom he must work, is safe. Out of his large knowledge of the details and processes of school work, gained in the years of apprenticeship in his calling, and out of the educational philosophy which he has slowly built up for himself, he can see ends among the means and hope amid the discouragements, and be able to steer such a course amid the obstacles and trials and misunderstandings of city school control as well as bring a well-thought-out educational policy slowly but surely into reality. To such a man larger and larger opportunities keep constantly opening up ahead.

THE STIMULUS OF PERSONALITY

Reprinted by permission from Reese, Webster P., "Personality and Success in Teaching," pp. 10–12. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1928.

During the past decade much impetus has been given to the erection and equipment of modern school buildings in all parts of the United States. This movement for better school buildings has been so uniformly successful that one cannot ignore its effect upon education. The finest and best buildings in almost any city or village through which one may pass are found to be public school buildings.

In making education attractive to boys and girls, modern school architecture and schoolroom equipment are important factors, but they are not the first nor most important attraction in education. A teacher filled with enthusiasm for his work, who understands boys and girls, and is interested in their development, is the first and greatest attraction that any classroom can possess.

The buildings and equipment do not make the school. They are worthy helpers and have a worthy place in our system of education. They are constantly assisting or detracting in the process of a pupil's education, but the vital stimulus of a teaching personality upon the life of his pupils is the greatest factor in education. This fact is often

lightly appraised, but a little study and observation will impress its worth upon our memories. President James A. Garfield knew its worth, and recognized the value of a great personality in his beloved teacher, Mark Hopkins. In his famous tribute to this great educator, he declared that a student on one end of a log and Mark Hopkins on the other would make a university anywhere.

While Mark Hopkins was president of Williams College his personality vitalized its atmosphere. He touched the lives of many young men, who, after graduation, went out to render efficient service in all walks of life. Prominent among this group were Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas; Supreme Court Justice Stephen J. Field; David A. Wells, the economist; William Keith Brooks, the zoölogist; James H. Canfield, the librarian; Samuel C. Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, and President James A. Garfield. Eugene Field and E. P. Roe, both popular authors, were also students at Williams College.

It was the spirit of Samuel C. Armstrong that pervaded Hampton Institute and reached Booker T. Washington, who in turn became the famous teacher of Tuskegee Institute and spirit of education among his own race. This story could be duplicated many times among the great teachers the world over. The little republic of Switzerland gave us Arnold Guyot, the great teacher of geography; Pestalozzi, Rousseau, and Louis Agassiz, our most inspiring teacher of zoölogy. The touch of these personalities upon

contacts are chiefly physical; he has no social relations with the 'inmates.'

"There are two types of autocratic leadership as evidenced in the distinction between Prussian and West Point methods. The Prussian military system was that of developing automatic, habitual, and machine-like obedience to the voice of the superior officer. The West Point method strives to secure the loyal support of active minds. The soldier is considered as an intelligent person who is being trained to respond rationally to situations and to orders, or the lack of them, in relation to situations. The Prussian system capitalizes human abilities for brainless responses; the West Point method is a step toward democratic leadership.

"An important distinction may be made between *goal* and *method*. Some leaders (1) seek autocratic goals, goals of individual power, by democratic methods; some (2) seek democratic goals by autocratic methods, some (3) seek autocratic goals by autocratic methods, others (4) seek democratic goals by democratic methods. It is the first and second types which mystify the public; the third is easily recognized; the fourth is the most difficult to attain.

"In treating his fellows, the leader may rely on fear and hope. To the extent that his fellows fear him they will follow, perhaps reluctantly, and for a short time,—until an auspicious moment to revolt seems to have arrived. A person in authority is prone to wield the club of fear over his fellows and

thus become a 'boss,' 'slave-driver,' or 'czar.' This method is often the easiest and quickest in securing prompt obedience, because the large place occupied by fear in human nature makes domination easy. Thus, workmen have a fearfulness of losing the job and submit to the domination of the jobs for the sake of holding them. It is also the traditionally military procedure. The soldiers who fail to obey orders promptly are shot; the workmen who foment labor troubles are 'discharged.' To challenge a policeman may mean immediate arrest and a jail experience.

"The autocratic leader may also appeal to hope. Those who obey slavishly, who jump to do the leader's bidding, who follow most implicitly, who challenge least, are rewarded with favors; they may even be promoted over the heads of more competent associates. Through appealing to the hopes of his fellows, a leader may acquire an army of blind, docile, and servile followers.

"A limited appeal to both fear and hope by a leader is probably justifiable, but the process cannot go far without creating sham-followers. It is a wise leader who can keep his actions guided wholly by constructive goals, and not fall before the temptation to build up a personal following by arousing the fears and hopes of persons willing to act as his underlings. Many political leaders, for example, are guilty of fostering coteries of office-seekers or grafters, while some business leaders are guilty of creating a servile labor force. It is easy, also, for

one who is superior to use his ability to control others, and to acquire the symbols of superiority, such as wealth and position, and then to use the social advantages thus secured to achieve still greater superiority."[2]

An example of coercive leadership that is close enough to our own time to be meaningful and yet far enough distant to enable us to get the perspective is found in Napoleon Bonaparte. He arrived on the scene in the progress of peoples when there was a dire need of a leader. By ruthless force he grasped the position of leadership, and by the extension of that usurped force he rose from height to height until it appeared that he would become a world dictator.

In Napoleon's case there was a violation of the first quality of leadership which we have mentioned as found among primitive peoples. He was small in stature. This was a handicap, and there are evidences to indicate that his persistence and determination to succeed were at least partly due to his feeling of lack in this regard, causing him to put forth herculean efforts to overcome this handicap. Napoleon ruled largely through exciting fear in the people. Wherever he led his army, he conquered. Those who got in his way he killed. The farther his conquering army went, the more unwieldy and cumbersome became the number of his subject followers.

[2] Bogardus, Emory S., "Fundamentals of Social Psychology," Chap. 36, p. 419. New York: The Century Company, 1924.

A college president, in making an address before the student body, recently said, "Napoleon was the greatest leader who ever lived . . ." Then he added in an undertone, ". . . up to a certain point." "Up to a certain point" is exactly the joker in the whole situation. A leader might well ask himself why a man like Napoleon should have such an outstanding success in leadership "up to a certain point," and then fall so suddenly and ignominiously when he had reached that point. Lowell makes Prometheus say to Jove, "But to have been a name, and then to sink to something that the world can do without. . . ." This he holds to be the most ignominious experience that can come to a human. "The higher they rise, the harder they fall" is a statement that applies to the leader as well as to inanimate objects. Therefore, no one who contemplates leadership or who is already in a position of leadership desires to come to that "point" from which he is to fall.

The one who leads by tyrannical methods will be successful just as long as he can instill awe and abject fear into his followers. The very increase in his success will bring him to a point where he is doomed to failure. The extension of this tyranny will add numbers to his group of followers until the numbers become so great, and his projects so numerous, that he cannot continue to give personal direction to all of them. Then, since he has no one to help him because of his tyrannical methods, his followers and his projects will begin to get out of

his control and the rebellion against his leadership will start; and, once started, it will grow with great rapidity. Napoleon, dying in ignominy on St. Helena's island, is the inevitable outcome of Napoleon, ruling and conquering the world through methods of coercion in leadership.

Yet there are times when coercive leadership seems to be absolutely necessary. These are times of emergency when the slower methods of democracy cannot be waited for. "We do not face a theory, but a fact" is a noted historic statement which might truthfully be repeated many times in the history of an organization. In other words, a leader is often under the compulsion of admitting that he cannot consider what *ought* to be done under ideal conditions, but what *must* be done with conditions as they are.

In national affairs, an impending war may be an adequate justification of coercive leadership. The enemy is near the border and rapidly advancing. The outposts are already being shelled. The welfare of the nation is immediately in danger. The parliamentary body or the council cannot agree on methods that should be used, some members wishing to call a vote of the people as to whether or not there shall be a war, some advising that emissaries be sent in the interests of conciliation, and some entirely at a loss to know what to do in the circumstances. This is the occasion for the Strong Man. He declares war, on his own responsibility. He starts as much of the army as he can command di-

rectly to the border. He will not listen to the council. If objectors get in his way, he does not even pause to parley with them, but kills them instantly. He meets the enemy beyond the border, and repulses them with terrible slaughter. He may even advance far into their country, conquer them, and bring their land under his subjection so that they never again can attack his native country. Because his method has been successful, his return is a triumphal entry. The people, even though they had enjoyed a democracy, may willingly acclaim him an absolute dictator.

But, as has been previously suggested, while the coercive leader is necessary in time of emergency, he seldom outlasts the emergency period. Note that Trotsky became an exile from Russia. Probably the best thing that could have happened to Lenin, to warrant his place in the love of future generations of his fellow-countrymen and his assurance of a niche in history's hall of fame, was that he should have died, as he did, when at the height of his power as dictator. At this writing, Mussolini still holds his sway of coercive power in Italy, but his truest friends can only pray that he may not outlive it. One might agree that Italy was in such a condition that she would have fallen if there had not been a coercive Mussolini to take absolute control and whip the inhabitants into line for a modern program, but the rapidity of his possible downfall as a tyrant, even though he be considered a "benevolent" tyrant, will be gauged exactly by the

rapidity of the success of his reform. That is to say, just as rapidly as the people accept his reforms and put them into practice, just so rapidly will they begin to be the type of people to whom a dictatorship will become irksome, and also the type of people who will have the vigor and fortitude to arise and destroy the "tyrant."

Now, I realize that these illustrations have been drawn from the field of national leadership and that this treatise itself is prepared for the benefit of community leaders. But the community is a cross-section of society, and principles of leadership are the same whether on the world basis, the national basis, or in the local community. There comes a time in the history of a chamber of commerce, a church, a farm bureau, a boys' or girls' club, or any other sort of organization, when an emergency situation may require coercion on the part of the leader. He must choose either to become a coercive leader or to resign and allow one of coercive disposition to take the leading position.

Since the coercive leader eventually is dethroned, probably it is the part of wisdom for one very rarely, if at all, to use the harsher dictatorial methods. He certainly should not do so unless he has faced all of the facts in the case and decided that the time has come for him to sacrifice himself by using, for a brief period of time in a coercive way, the influence which he has gained through coöperative measures—and then to accept his assassination

(figuratively speaking) in the most graceful manner!

Qualities of coercive leadership and coöperative leadership are rarely found in the same person. The two types of behavior are so foreign to each other that they require two entirely different types of temperament. The kind, big-hearted, well-wishing person does not wield the club on the heads of others with a very great degree of success. On the other hand, the cold, driving, forceful, egotistical person does not readily pause to consult the welfare or the wishes of others. It would take an artist in making lightning changes of personality to step from one rôle to the other.

The people themselves become accustomed to depicting the leader in one or the other of these rôles. Even if he could change with changing conditions, it is more than likely that the followers who have become accustomed to the tactics of the coöperative leader would not respond to the same person when he became a coercive leader; and, conversely, that they would never believe in the genuineness of the change when, with the emergency over, the coercive leader announced that he had changed to coöperative methods.

Fortunately, most times are normal. In normal times, coöperative leadership is the successful type; therefore, one would best develop that temperament and that technique which will bring success to himself and his group under normal conditions.

HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF LEADERSHIP

Reprinted by permission from Blackmar, J. W., and Gillin, J. L., "Outlines of Sociology," pp. 421–23. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.

Ancient leadership.—Through physical vigor, unusual will power, or extraordinary resourcefulness, the individual became a leader. Tradition, prestige, and superstition increased his influence; religion and war were his servants. Gradually adding to his power, and assuming, in war, in the council, or in religious ceremony, to represent the interests of the tribe or clan, he became king in fact before he was made so by custom or law. But while leading the people in the interests of the tribe, he was really creating a community of subjects. Not able to keep up a display of force and manage all the affairs of the tribal state himself, he associated with him, by making it to their interest to assist him, a large number of people who were interested in government and who worked together with him for the control of the tribe or nation. Thus, although theoretically the people assumed the right to choose their leader and king, the king practically arranged to have himself chosen.

The rise of the governing class.—The step from feudal rule, founded on leadership and service, to aristocratic rule, founded on class distinction, was

taken when conquerors imposed their will upon a conquered people. From the conquerors rose a governing class, known as an aristocracy, a class distinctly separate from the great mass of the people. As the ruling class, they were supposed to be better and nobler than others; and their claim to this supposed superiority and nobility they based on force. Having its origin in feudalism, where superior ability and native shrewdness counted for everything, this governing class established its authority by conquest, usually in some other region; and in every succeeding form of monarchy, either absolute or constitutional, such a governing class has continued to exist. Wherever nations have continued to grow, however, there has been a development of other independent means of social order, such as religion, justice, intelligence, industrial organization, altruism, freedom of speech, and freedom of meeting; thus control by force has become less essential, and the governing class more useless. But out of all the surviving nations, a few were at an early period so impregnated with imperialism and so dominated by the governing class as to be unable, even now, to rid themselves of the ancient ideals. It is true enough that dukes and grand dukes were once necessary to the king and of service to the people; but in the natural process of evolution a highly socialized and closely integrated society tends to eliminate archaic forms. For people do not exist for the sake of a governing class, nor yet for the government.

The idea of control in a democracy.—Even in a pure democracy this element of force appears, at certain times, to control the public. However, in a democracy, control by force is resorted to only to preserve social order, while the main reliance is upon ideas, ideals, common customs, and influential individuals. And, in the nature of things, there must be some control by force, for, because of a diversity of opinions and prejudices, otherwise our democracy would not always be able to carry out successfully the general will of the people. Indeed, so far as governmental mechanism is concerned, enlightened absolutism seems the surest and most economical form of government; its plans to govern for the public, it carries out with a will and authority which secure speedy results. Most democratic governments, are, in contrast, wasteful governments. There is, in the first place, an immeasurable loss of power in the attempt to give every man a hearing or a part in the government. And, too, if we but turn our attention to the dilatory methods, the short-sighted business policies, of the common council of a city government, we are forced to admit that the democratic form of government has its drawbacks. Not only city councils, however, but even legislatures only too frequently fall short of doing what is for the advancement of the community. Above all, the people themselves are frequently so short-sighted that they do not know what is best for them; hence they are as liable to take the advice of a demagogue as of a statesman.

But most of the difficulties of self-government arise from imperfect socialization or incomplete social machinery. Government is a great art which but few have learned well. Since successive groups of individuals take their turns at being lawmakers, our legislative bodies are but schools for the practice of the untutored; and because any one may aspire to office and take his place as an administrative official, if he can but get the votes or receive the appointment, it frequently occurs that many are elected who are ill prepared for civil service. Yet, after all, the safeguard of self-government is the perpetual opportunity of the people to choose their own rulers and officers. The judgment of the people is seen, in the main, to be correct. And, if through lack of care they have an imperfect and expensive government, they have, since the control rests ultimately with them, only themselves to censure for the burdens. To make social control what it should be, therefore, universal intelligence and a developed capacity for self-government should obtain.

The social will of democracy.—When once aroused and in full action, the will of democracy is as intolerant and absolute as the power of the monarch. Its redeeming quality is that, although it acts intermittently and represents a series of mistakes, these are followed by corrections which point toward a steady, if slow, progress. Its real success, therefore, depends upon educating the great majority of the people into an independent moral integrity which will enable them to live above the

law. And, when people have gained this attitude, there is a species of social control which cannot be destroyed by the defects of governmental machinery nor the machinations of all the demagogues, nor yet by the "hungry incapacity" of office seekers.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Reprinted by permission from Bogardus, Emory S., "Fundamentals of Social Psychology," pp. 435–444. New York: The Century Company, 1924.

There is an increasing demand for leadership which is democratic. In order to survive long in the present era, even the autocrat must put on the cloak of democracy. As one way of getting at the meaning of democratic leadership, 158 persons who are known as intelligent leaders in their respective groups, among them public school administrators and teachers, ministers, business men, Federal Board men, university professors, and post-graduate men and women, and social workers, were asked recently to choose an outstanding leader in American life and history who illustrates the principle of democratic leadership, and to indicate three or more things which this leader did that are evidences of the *democracy* of his leadership. The emphasis was thus placed on behavior rather than on subjective traits, such as generosity or nobility of character, because the existence of these subjective traits is probably proved only by conduct over a period of time. The best *evidences* of leadership of any kind are found, not in what one person thinks about a so-called leader, but in what the alleged leader actually does.

When the 478 evidences of democratic leadership that were cited by the 158 judges were examined, it was found that 52 were stated "subjectively," and hence were discarded, leaving 416 evidences available for study. The classification was difficult, partly because of an overlapping of evidences. The data showed at least eight different types of evidences of the democracy of leadership.

1. The first grouping into which the "evidences" fall, referred to "*increasing the opportunities for the development of other persons.*" W. E. DuBois once put the idea as follows: Democracy is "a willingness to look for and encourage ability wherever found." Representative evidences of this type, together with the name of the leader in each case, are given herewith:

Originated the normal school for the training of teachers (Horace Mann).

Led the movement for giving votes to women (Susan B. Anthony).

Provided industrial training for fellow Negroes (Booker T. Washington).

Brought classic music within the reach and appreciation of the masses (Theodore Thomas).

Manufactured inexpensive motor cars for the common people (Ford).

The data in hand indicate that Dewey takes too narrow a view when he says that "democracy multiplies occasions for imitation, not occasions for thought in action." Our facts show that in a de-

mocracy leaders stimulate other persons to be leaders as well as imitators.

2. A second type of evidences of democratic leadership emphasizes promoting *the welfare of the group,* as such. It is the national group, the labor group, the world group in whose behalf effort is expended:

Formed a nation out of discordant colonists (Washington).

Held the United States together (Lincoln).

Made the whole country's welfare his reason for a conservative program (Roosevelt, Pinchot).

Established and maintained a confederate organization composed of many varieties of local labor unions (Gompers).

Spoke and wrote for world friendship and world democracy (Wilson).

3. The evidences of democratic leadership also indicate how the respective leaders have taken *the side of weakness against power and of injustice against special privilege:*

Struck off the shackles from enslaved Negroes (Lincoln).

Fought the trusts to a standstill and urged on every hand a square deal for the weak (Roosevelt).

Championed immigrants and the poor when in trouble (Jane Addams).

Supported helpless women in industry against corporate greed (Brandeis).

Took the part of the "kids" (Ben Lindsay).

4. Another evidence of democratic leadership is the leader's showing an *at-oneness with the humbler members of his groups:*

Identified himself with the philosophy of Poor Richard (Franklin).

In simple speech and deed he voiced the ideals of the peasantry (Lincoln).

Rode to Washington on horseback without attendants, tied his horse to the fence, and walked unceremoniously into the Senate Chamber for his inauguration as President (Jefferson).

He chose plain people, plain ways, plain clothes, and simple plainness of speech (Emerson).

He did not hesitate to talk, dine, or work with the plainest citizen (Roosevelt).

Never forsook the poor and defeated classes, living always after their fashion (Jane Addams).

This at-oneness is sometimes simulated in order to take advantage of the unthinking. Tammany's hold over the East Side is due to what is alleged to be partly feigned attitudes. In season and out Tammany can count on support irrespective of the qualifications of its candidates for office. The explanation is found in the activities of Tammany precinct captains who are continually "on the job" of identifying themselves with the people's immediate problems. It has been said that if there is an eviction, the precinct captain is present to render help; if there is an arrest, the captain goes to court with the one charged with guilt; if there is sickness, the captain arrives ahead of the priest;

and if there is a death, the captain is on hand before the undertaker comes. The charges of graft against Tammany do not obscure the fact that the at-oneness principle is operative and effective.

5. Another trend of democratic leadership is found in *the habit of consulting with authorities, even opponents, before acting:*

Put opponents in the Cabinet (Lincoln).

Called in and consulted with persons of opposing beliefs as a basis for action (Roosevelt).

In educational situations, tries to understand the point of view of all persons concerned (J. R. Angell).

6. A tendency to use *the discussion method of securing adjustments* is stressed in the evidences of democratic leadership. This procedure differs from the fifth classification in that the leader subordinates himself more definitely. Decisions are made by the group of consultants including the leader as an individual member:

Called a peace conference between the Russians and Japanese in 1905 (Roosevelt).

Called a conference on the limitation of armaments (Harding).

Established the open forum (Coleman).

The method of leading, not by ordering, but by sitting down and talking matters over with lieutenants, is well illustrated by Alexander Johnson, the social welfare leader, who says:

"If I [a member of the State Board of Charities,

Indiana] found something I thought was wrong, I talked to the Superintendent, not as a superior officer, . . . but as man to man . . . I believed that a reform brought about in this way from within was a real one, while a new procedure forced on an official by pressure from without, and not really appreciated by those who must practice it, might have worse results than the method it had supplanted."

7. Other evidences of democratic leadership relate to the methods of carrying out decisions when they have once been determined upon. While these are difficult to frame, the chief one may be stated as follows: (a) By *showing the way and sacrificing himself;* (b) by *exhibiting self-restraint and not giving in to egotistic desires and appetites:*

He made people feel that he was their servant rather than their overlord (Lincoln).

He led the way, and others were stimulated to follow (Roosevelt).

In his autobiography, Alexander Johnson explains the democratic method of a friend in these words: "He never said 'Go'; he always said, 'Come.'" In other words, leadership that is called democratic rarely drives; it attracts, magnetizes; it arouses one's social nature and offers coöperation. It consists in wanting people to feel toward you "as loving children to their father." In referring to his own methods of leadership, Mr. Johnson declares that a leader (of the type of which we are now

thinking) will not preclude his followers from questioning his decisions or from giving criticism. When a decision is questioned, the democratic leader will give explanations both willingly and cheerfully; otherwise, he will not be fit to lead. The significance of the statement: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me," is found in the fact that a wholly self-sacrificing, loving personality is being lifted up, and not a domineering, arbitrary one.

8. The eighth type of evidences of democratic leadership emphasizes *rendering service without expectation of reward.* Profits, position, power—none of these mundane and material enticements appeal. A cause is espoused for its own sake even though it cost the leader his life. It is only when a leader acts without accepting reward over a long period of time that his conduct may be given this highest of all ratings:

He refused to be made a king (Washington).
He sought neither wealth, rank, power, nor any other reward for his services to his country (Lincoln).

In examining the eight aforementioned types of evidences of democratic leadership, it is seen that they all fall into five classes: (1) The first three types relate to the welfare of other persons as the goal which is sought. (2) The fourth reveals the characteristic manner of living of the democratic leader. (3) Types five and six disclose the manner of coming to a decision. Because of autocratic ele-

ments, type five may be considered as only semi-democratic. (4) The seventh type explains the democratic manner of carrying out decisions, of getting things done, of securing action. (5) The last-mentioned set of evidences of democratic leadership reveals "motive," and is the most difficult of all to diagnose.

It is at once apparent that in nearly all democratic leaders these five classes of conduct are not found in equal proportion. Some may be missing entirely. In certain cases the goal may be democratic, and the method of coming to a decision autocratic. In other instances the goal and the method of arriving at decisions may be democratic, but a "big stick" may be used in attaining the goal. And all of the first seven types of democratic leadership may be exhibited—but in the end for purposes of gaining self-advancement. The first class, that of seeking democratic goals, is apparently the easiest and most common phase of democratic leadership to be achieved. The fourth class, that of leading democratically by democratic means without any thought of personal reward, is evidently most difficult and most rare. In its fullest and richest sense, democratic leadership is personal conduct which seeks to increase the welfare of other persons, which is arrived at by the combined judgment of those concerned, which emanates from a simple mode of living, which is carried out magnetically by example, and which seeks no rewards.

A further analysis of the data makes possible ad-

ditional conclusions concerning democratic leadership. The first is that, barring accident, *democratic leadership is possible of attainment by normal persons.* All above the moron level possess traits which indicate that they might qualify regarding the five phases of democratic leadership which have been summarized in the preceding paragraph:

1. All normal persons show concern in the welfare of at least a few other persons; they manifest interest in the welfare of a few social groups, as such, of which they are members; and on occasion they take the side of injustice against brutal strength. The difficulty, in this connection, is that of making one's attitudes all-inclusive. It is easy to want to help a few persons, one's own immediate friends, but to respond similarly toward all human beings, especially those of social groups widely different in ideals from one's own group, is a matter of broad and sympathetic education.

2. All ordinary persons at times show an at-oneness with common folk. Even the "great" and the wealthy often "put on superior airs" for purposes of social effect, but in inner circles reveal longings for simplicity.

3. The democratic method of arriving at decisions, namely, by securing the combined judgment of all concerned, is a method any person is capable of using, unless perchance he has become possessed of fixed autocratic habits.

4. Every person is capable of setting a constructive example, and by kindly, sympathetic means of stimulating a following for a socially worthy cause.

5. Every person, at least in behalf of a few, acts without expectation of reward. Again, the difficulty of extending this principle to include large numbers of people is an educational problem of far-reaching proportions.

Despite all the difficulties involved, however, it may be said that democratic leadership activities are not reserved for the few, but rather are possible for many. If democratic leadership is not only mystically enshrined in the memory of a revered Lincoln or a "square deal" Roosevelt, but may also be found in the actions of normal persons, then the possibilities of human leadership are almost unlimited. If the essence of democratic leadership may be expressed through striving for the welfare of mankind in need anywhere, then it makes a difference how one conducts himself, whether he addresses his associates in choice English or slouches back into the use of slang, whether he speaks unfeelingly or thoughtfully and sympathetically, whether he acts wholesomely, or ten degrees less than wholesomely, whether his behavior is self-centered or others-centered.

At moments of great discouragement and severest defeat, a person may remember that his democratic-leadership possibilities cannot be stolen from him. Moreover, he may also take courage from the fact

that his very defeats afford him new sympathies and a better understanding of the struggles of other persons, and hence, may multiply his democratic leadership possibilities manyfold. What a stimulating concept, the democracy of leadership, universally available—perhaps the most dynamic and precious of personality traits!

Persons may *falsely delude themselves into thinking that they are democratic leaders.* A foreman who has come up from the ranks of unskilled labor may naïvely declare that he knows all about working conditions, but as a matter of fact be quite "unable to guess at the picture in the worker's head, and hence to understand his actions." The exercise of power has given the foreman new experiences and new attitudes which tend to separate him from the men working under his orders. A foreman or even a corporation president may feel that he knows the worker's mind because he himself was once a day laborer or perhaps a newsboy. He overlooks one important fact, however, that he has been moving up round by round, while the day laborers, of whom he was once one, are the victims of non-success or even repression complexes. He who has risen from a humble level of life has had success promotion experiences, and hence has developed a success complex, while he who has worked hard for a lifetime at the same routine task has experienced disappointment after disappointment, a non-promotion existence, and has acquired attitudes of defeat and acquiescence or of defeat and restless-

ness—depending on the nature of his experiences and on his temperamental dispositions.

A manufacturer may feel that he understands his employees who are working for him at long hours, because he himself is working ten or twelve hours a day. Even though a Christian, a churchman, and one trained in the principles of democracy, he turns against his employees when they become restless and go on a strike. He points out that he works a long day, and why shouldn't they do likewise? He forgets, however, that his long day's work is self-imposed, while his employees feel that their long day has been imposed upon them perchance by soulless corporations, interlocking directorates, and an unjust economic system. He forgets, also, that his work is full of interesting problems at which he labors hour after hour without realizing the passage of time, while the factory man's task or the coal miner's job has no new stimuli in it day after day, and hence becomes dull and stupid. The employer's work is stimulating, thought-provoking; the employee's is devoid of mental electricity. One thinks of nothing but his work; the other cannot keep his mind on his work, for it has nothing in it to excite him. Hence, he grows restless and mayhap revolutionary, as the employer would do if tasks were interchanged. A man working long hours at a self-appointed enterprise that is full of vibrant stimuli easily loses the point of view of other persons who are crushed beneath arduous tasks that possess no stimulating elements. With this loss in social un-

derstanding, there depart one by one the possibilities of democratic leadership.

The very exercise of social power tends to weaken a person's spirit of democratic leadership. An illustration is the President of the United States. In this connection, says Bruce Bliven:

"It is impossible not to swell a little when you are subtly reminded a thousand times a day of your own greatness, when your casual cough is worth a hundred feet of motion picture film, and it is a great event in the life of any fellow citizen to be seen coming down a flight of steps with you."

One president of the Republic of China has started out as the exponent of democratic principles, but has become obsessed with the use of power and has turned out to be a menace. In the United States, Jefferson and those of the Jeffersonian traditions have contended for the liberties of individuals and of states, and have feared a strong federal control, and yet when they have come into power, from Andrew Jackson or even Jefferson himself to President Wilson, they have "become converted to the idea of the powerful exercise of central authority and have out-Hamiltoned the Hamiltonians. And it has been equally curious that a man of the Hamilton tradition, when his party was out of power, has always been impressed by the terrible autocracy of the executive."

The influence due to exercising power often defeats one's democratic tendencies. For example:

"The evolution of Boies Penrose is an amusing

commentary upon American politics in more ways than one. Three years after he was graduated from Harvard College he was elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature on a reform ticket. His election was made the occasion for great rejoicing on the part of the good people of Philadelphia. And well might they rejoice. They had at last driven a wedge into a sinister political machine that had brought the city of brotherly love into disrepute as a boss-ridden municipality."

It is significant that James Bryce in the first edition of his *American Commonwealth* cited Penrose as an example of the sterling type of young Americans who were rescuing the municipal and state governments from the grip of the vicious boss system, and that in later editions of this book the name of Penrose as a reformer was expurgated. The exercise of power has produced new experiences, new social contacts, and new attitudes. The intoxication of power had turned the enemy of "bossism" into an arch-boss.

The most promising democratic leaders in any country are not those who grow up in the peasant class and who afterwards receive professional or business training and then enter into political or religious leadership, but those who, "having achieved an intellectual and social superiority over the average peasant class, yet remain members of this class and continue to share all the interests of their class." It is the Lincoln type of man who maintains the principle of democratic leadership

best. Because Lincoln maintained a warm, sympathetic attitude, he never fell from grace, democratically speaking; he was able to recognize the secret doors in human walls, which he sooner or later discovered and passed through, going "unerringly to the place within those walls that was his."

The social psychology of exercising power is that of making a leader arbitrary and forgetful of the attitudes and experiences of those over whom it is exercised. Power-using habits are inimical to the exercise of sympathy, patience, and wholesomeness. A religious leader, preaching the spirit of love and meekness of Christ, easily falls into the habit of praying that "love may *dominate* in the world," implying that love "lords it" over people, rather than serves.

A leader may undertake a position of power fully determined to act democratically, but before long finds that sometimes it is easier to act for others than to get them to act. A leader becomes so efficient through practice that he grows disheartened in "breaking in" newcomers. He tends to shift to the practice of selecting a few trusted and capable lieutenants with instructions to act for the multitudes as they think best. And the multitude, through lack of proper education, through being interested in matters of a close personal nature, through bewilderment at the complexity of a large-scale social organization, are content to turn over their democratic sovereignty to aristocratic leaders, providing the social control conditions remain fa-

vorable and yield them a measure of enjoyment. Many factors, thus, operate to shift democratic leadership into autocratic channels.

Democratic leadership produces results slowly.—It takes time to train others to act efficiently. Tact and skill are necessary in getting persons to assume responsibility. The hopeful phase of this situation, however, is that in stimulating others to become leaders, they are being made new centers of influence. By putting responsibility upon worthy persons, a leader may create a thousand other leaders.

The autocratic leader may secure results quickly and rule reasonably well, but he will produce subservient followers rather than large numbers of democratic leaders, and hence, his leadership will not remain permanent. The democratic leader, on the other hand, by following slower and more tedious processes of social stimulation, may train up a host of leaders who will carry forward democratically his ideals to countless people. The autocratic leader may create a remarkable organization and thus perpetuate his personality for a time, but history shows that social organizations built up under autocratic leadership lack the social sympathy and intelligent coöperation that is necessary for permanence. Democratic leadership, on the contrary, throbs with the spirit of love, and therefore naturally expands into immortal deeds of mutual helpfulness.

The main shift in leadership ideals is from the

autocratic to the paternalistic, and then to the democratic. The autocratic has already been discussed; the democratic will be considered in the chapter that follows; and the paternalistic will be mentioned here.

The paternalistic leader is willing to do for others, but whenever and in whatever ways he pleases. Oftentimes he renders aid as a means of self-inflicted penance for wrongs he has committed. He is willing to help individuals, but not the whole group. He will help generously a selected few, but is unwilling to raise an entire class to his own social level. By helping a few, he can quiet a conscience uneasy because of wrongs he has done; he receives much applause as a social benefactor, and at the same time the masses are left on a level on which they can be used and manipulated for the gain and power of those at the paternalistic apex.

The paternalist does things for persons or even communities, but fails to create the means whereby persons or communities "may do for themselves." Paternalism weakens initiative. It makes devotees rather than self-reliant leaders. It results in a kind of slavery, putting its recipients under such obligation that they cannot say that their souls and minds are their own. "Every time the leader does something for the community it may do for itself, he prevents the community from developing its own resources."

PATERNALISM

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The instances of social conflict discussed thus far are types which arise from collision between the functioning of different personalities or groups of personalities. The purposes of the conflicting groups interfere with each other merely because they try to use the same parts of the environment in different ways. The things over which the conflict arises may be parts of the sub-social or the social environment. The conflict may be over the use of such things as land, tools, money, time, power, or people. It may be between children for use of a toy or between nations for control of oil wells; it may be between lovers for the favor of a woman or between conquerors for the domination of an empire. Such conflicts might be solved if it were possible to provide each of the conflicting purposes with equipment of its own through which it could function. But not all types of social conflict could be treated in this simple way. In certain types the manipulation of one personality by another comes into conflict with the desire for freedom on the part of the manipulated personality. Conflicts of this

sort include three divergent types: paternalism, domination, and cruelty.

Paternalism occurs when the more powerful person or group decides what is best for the weaker part, and then, for the victim's "own good," attempts to carry out that purpose without his consent. When employers, without understanding the actual and potential purposes of their employees, attempt to put over what the employer thinks is good for the employee, that is paternalism. When a social worker, without understanding the actual and potential purposes of the people among whom he works, tries to carry out his own ideas of what is good for them, that is paternalism. Paternalism must be distinguished from creative leadership. The true leader understands what the purposes of his followers are, or what purposes may be created in them. He gives opportunity to these purposes to express and realize themselves. This is not exploitation; it is the stimulation and release of purposes, not thwarting.

Paternalism arises out of expansion of personality to include other personalities without putting the self in the place of these others sufficiently vividly to understand their purposes and possibilities. The same process underlies domination and cruelty, except that in paternalism it is really benevolent—it wishes well for its victim—while in domination the aggressor simply wishes to function by manipulating and controlling others, without reference to their purposes and possibilities; in cruelty, moreover, the

aggressor gets his satisfaction essentially in the thwarting and torturing of others—he attains his purpose only to the degree that his victim suffers. Social programs for dealing with conflict must take into account all of these different types.

Chapter X

PROJECT LEADERSHIP

SOCIAL activity has a tendency to manifest itself in physical forms. Ideals and theories are desirable, and even essential—but people have never made progress merely by maintaining ideals and theories in common. The leader will do well to know how organized bodies act, and comport himself accordingly. It is probable that he will not be able greatly to alter their actions.

The ideals and practices of family life manifest themselves in a dwelling house and the various articles of physical equipment through which home relationships can best be expressed. Religious idealism and activity find expression in the building of a church, a synagogue, a temple, a tabernacle, a mosque, or a cathedral. Within these places of worship, materials are assembled through which the ideals and activities of the religious group are made manifest in certain rites and rituals. Educational ideals and activities manifest themselves in school buildings, and their equipment. Business ideals and activities house themselves in store buildings, factories, and other establishments with the necessary physical equipment.

The physical manifestations of social ideals and

activities have sometimes been referred to as "socio-physical phenomena." The significant thing for the leader of any group to understand is that social solidarity and progress depend upon carrying forward certain processes that can be comprehended by the physical senses.

Every untrained leader of work for boys and girls has had an experience somewhat like the following: he has made announcement of a meeting to which all boys and girls interested in a certain program of life are invited. Natural curiosity and common interest have operated to bring to the meeting a large number of those who have seen the general invitation. It has been proposed to "organize" something—a Boy Scouts' or Girl Scouts' organization, a 4-H Club, or some other society. The persons present were enthusiastic over the prospect and voted to perfect the proposed organization. A "committee on constitution and by-laws" was appointed, and a meeting was called for a definite future date, to hear the report of the committee. This meeting was also well attended; and after discussion the expected action was taken in adopting, with some amendments, the report of the committee. Notice that up to this point the motivating force that held interest and attention was *a new and definite project on hand.* There was something to do, and the individuals came together with interest in doing that particular thing. With the organization perfected, and the constitution and by-laws adopted, regular meeting times were specified. The

members came to the next meeting probably out of curiosity to see what would be done. Nothing was done—they just "met." The following meeting was poorly attended; and from that time on, the instigators of the organization began to worry about the failure of the society which they had organized.

It is clear that the cause of failure here is to be found in a violation of a fundamental law of social progress: namely, that any social group, in order to maintain solidarity and unified life, must from time to time express its ideals and activities in physical form. There is here a process of action and reaction which makes for growth and development. Enthusiasm for common ideals urges to their physical manifestation, and the delight in and use of physical form thus attained urges the group to the initiation of new ideals and activities, which in turn are given physical form—and so the process of action and reaction continues.

This is the combined psychological and sociological reason for the success of the so-called "project method" in all sorts of organized work. Experience has shown that a certain technique in the use of the project method will enhance its value:

1. An organization, to be worth while, must have a general objective which it proposes to gain, and this objective must be of sufficient size and importance to arouse the imagination of the members and to maintain their interest in working toward the

goal. As a matter of fact, the goal will never be attainable, since the conception of it will grow and enlarge with every movement which the group makes toward it, so that when the place formerly fixed as the goal has been reached, it will have been long since forgotten as the place fixed, and the goal will have been set far beyond. It is absolutely essential, if an organization is to have a considerable degree of permanency, that this idealistic and far-distant objective be constantly kept in mind. The leader especially must maintain this great vision. "Where there is no vision the people perish." The people may not always be able to get and hold the vision, but the leader must maintain it for both himself and the people.

2. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." While the enthusiasm of the people may be roused by a leader so that they have faith in the distant future, that faith will waver unless they can see that steps are being taken day by day toward the realization of that vision for the future. Plato presented a vision of "The Republic." It was an ideal state. The tyrant of Syracuse invited Plato to demonstrate in his domain that such an ideal state could be realized. Plato accepted the task—but shortly was found fleeing for his life away from Syracuse. Afterwards he wrote "The Laws," in which he admitted that the ideal state could not be demonstrated immediately because of human limitations, and he suggested restrictions that were not exactly ideal but by means of which people might

be led, step by step, towards the ideal state. It is unfortunate that Plato did not know this when he became political adviser in a state. If he had, he would have held his vision of the ideal state, kept the people enthusiastic over the possibility of its attainment in some indefinite future time,—and then set before them certain attainable goals for the immediate future. Those objectives would perhaps have seemed small to him in comparison with his great vision, but they would have seemed great to the people who had not the vision, and the interest in working toward these immediate objectives would have maintained solidarity of his group and made for normal progress.

When Moses led a mob of slaves out of Egypt, their distant objective was "The Promised Land." It was the hope of this reward that was to keep them away from idolatry and true to the Jehovah who, Moses taught, was their real, though unseen, leader. The activities of the escape, the new and unique organization of their lives in the wilderness —these kept them busy doing things that were intensely interesting. But, when they camped at the foot of the mountain, the vision seemed a long way off. Here were the gold and silver jewels which they had "borrowed" from their Egyptian masters; here was a campfire in which they could immediately mold the precious metals—and presto! they would have a god who would at once be present and they could set up their new order here and now. Therefore, according to the record, when

Moses came down from the mountain, bearing the tables of stone, he found that his people had changed the whole order of the proposed program and were engaging in fanatical actions in the presence of the Golden Calf which they had made.

The point we wish to make is that people in group formation always demand something to do by which they can get *immediate results.* If the leader does not give them some constructive thing to do that will lead to this immediate satisfaction, the group will either disintegrate and, therefore, allow the organization to die, or its members will discover some destructive thing to do and turn the organization entirely from its purpose, dethroning the leader and going in a direction which will never bring them toward the goal set by the great leader.

3. A careful balance must be maintained between activities looking toward the far objective and activities for the attainment of the near objective. There is grave possibility of error if the leader goes to either extreme. The clergyman who expends all of his energy and that of his adherents in enthusiasm for "the heavenly vision" will awaken unique and sometimes abnormal nervous forces and for a time apparently meet with great success—that is, if the fact of having a crowd to speak to is considered a measure of success. Later on he will find that his people have gotten all of the joy that can be gotten out of his vision, and will be looking for something else in which to take an interest. This something else is likely to be in the nature of phys-

ical expression. For this reason, fanatical religions that overstress joys of the distant future often are accompanied by unfortunate physical misdeeds and excesses on the part of adherents.

At the other extreme is the clergyman who, if he ever had a heavenly vision, has grown weary of it himself, or, still maintaining it, has become quite sure that he never can keep the people organized and active in the hope of attaining the goal which the vision presents. "As far as the people are concerned, here and now, the church is only a social service club, and we would as well keep the people busy putting on various stunts in the community." This statement was made to me very frankly by a clergyman who had, in his activities some years previously, been "evangelical" in the extreme. He had subsequently made himself over into a very active and very much confused dictator of social "busy" work, and boasted of the many meetings, organized group affairs, social activities, and the like, which were constantly going on in his church and parish. Again and again, in cases where a man has gone to this extreme, some other leader, coming into the community and presenting a beautiful and far-away vision to the people who have grown weary of "busy" work, has captivated them and caused the downfall of the former leader. This may happen even though the vision of the far-distant goal may be altogether a mirage.

A school principal has sometimes become greatly interested in the coming ideal system of education;

has tried to present the Utopian school to his school board and to the people of the community in season and out of season—has even attempted to reorganize the entire school system in the community so that it will parallel his ideal system—and in this way has temporarily destroyed the system and has alienated his people to such a degree that he has committed suicide as a leader. Another kind of school principal is so thoroughly enmeshed in the present kind of system that he loses his vision of how things may be at some time in the future. He introduces a thousand little activities for the pupils of the school and for the patrons to engage in, until they forget what are the great objectives of education, and think that they are getting somewhere because they are so busy with activities! Later on, in matters that have to do with conduct and achievement, they will find that they are out of date and inefficient because of the lack of real education.

There is a type of leader in 4-H club work (which is so successful among rural boys and girls in the United States) who sees that the real objective is to develop successful personalities when the boys and girls come to mature years, and to have a reasonable percentage of these grown-ups on American farms so that rural culture may be raised to a much higher plane. He sees in the members of the 4-H club to-day the "successful farmers of to-morrow." He goes about holding this idealistic picture before the people, and especially before the boys and girls. But boys and girls, if they are healthy and vigorous,

are not much interested in what is going to happen fifteen years or twenty-five years hence. They are very much interested in what they can cause to happen to-day and what they are likely to be able to achieve and enjoy next week. Therefore, the idealist who is *merely* an idealist loses his following because he has no day-by-day program of projects which can be completed and in the completion of which the boys and girls will get the satisfaction of recognized achievement.

Another type of leader wishing to have his work immediately successful, spends all of his time and energy with the 4-H club boys and girls in putting on showy "stunts." He sometimes has kept them so busy with showy agricultural and home-making activities that they have gotten entirely "fed-up" on that sort of thing—"foundered," as it were, by taking on in too brief a period, food that should have been distributed in smaller units throughout a lifetime. Therefore, they have come to detest farm life and everything that savors of it and have been captivated by a larger world vision which offers escape from the monotonous treadmill of daily stunts.

A county agricultural agent, in order to carry out the program for which his movement stands, must work for a new agriculture and a new type of rural culture in America. He must have a great vision of what rural America is to be half a century from now. Whenever proper opportunity offers, he must confidently hold before the people this vision of the

new rural life and the assurance that it is attainable. He will also secure the adoption of some fairly long-time projects on which no records of achievement can be secured until the end of the period. In a hilly country, this may be a project for the correction of soils erosion; and may need many years for its completion to the point where results can be seen. In a wheat country, it may be a project for the eradication of the Hessian fly and may require five years and more to demonstrate results. These are illustrations typical of a number of fairly long-time projects which the agricultural agent must direct.

Since the factor of time is important in such a project, there is an element of risk involved. A disastrous flood in the hilly country may destroy a few years' progress that has been made in the program for the correction of soils erosion. Removals from the county of a number of farmers who are coöperating in the Hessian fly campaign may break into that program and prevent any successful achievement of results.

The successful agent will, therefore, be concerned for the adoption of a few short-time projects which will be reasonably easy of achievement. Some of them may be even of a spectacular nature so as to satisfy the people that there is "something doing," and to keep the members encouraged to hold together and work toward the goal of the objective that is farther distant. Another county agent may be so interested in doing "showy" things—in put-

ting on public stunts—that after a period of years he will have utterly failed in demonstrating real progress in the program of agriculture and rural life.

Now, there is no legitimate reason why a leader should go to either extreme in the field of far-objectives or near-objectives. It would be the part of wisdom to balance the project program so that the vision would be retained, and at the same time some definite and concrete project would be continually in hand, so that the people might be led from successful achievement to successful achievement. Neither will it be wise for the leader to reveal to the people his technique in this regard. It is a technique for the *leader* and not for the people.

BUILDING A ROAD

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"The road must be made," Oberlin said. "It would be useless even if it were made," they replied, "for we could not get across the stream when it is full any better than now." He replied, "We will use the rocks which we blast in making the road for abutments and throw a bridge across." Their lack of faith in roads was marvelous, but the proposition to bridge their mountain streams utterly confounded them. It confirmed them in the conclusion that their pastor was an unsafe man to follow. Such a departure from the old paths evidently showed them not only the danger of theological studies, but a capacity also for speculative views that would halt at nothing. If their preacher was to persist in these new notions, he must do it alone.

Stuber had characterized them as "an iron-headed people," and Oberlin felt that they were. All the more they needed him, and though their conduct was disquieting, it had not the least effect upon his purpose. After the matter had been discussed and sufficiently considered, and Oberlin had preached on the Lord's Day with his usual earnestness from the text, "There remaineth therefore a

rest to the people of God," the people with unusual astonishment saw their pastor, bright and early Monday morning, with a pick on his shoulder, accompanied by three or four who were loyal to him, passing through the village to begin the road-making. Their wonder grew when they saw him at work, picking and digging and shoveling away stones that he could not lift with his hands. There was manhood enough among his people to assert itself after such an appeal as this. It was an illustration of applied Christianity altogether new to them, and it was immediately followed by a great revival of practical religion in the village. The next day a score were working with him, the next day following fifty, until by the time they had reached the stream there were no doubters; all believed in good roads, and always had. Probably the last man to join the majority went home and told his wife that the original idea was his own, and that he would have proposed it to Oberlin but for the conviction that ministers ought to confine themselves to the gospel and let the labor question alone. If so, it may be that the trusting soul believed him. I find no record of this hypothetical man, but he must have been there—he always is—and there could scarcely have been an exception in this case to the ordinary experience of latecomers in successful reforms.

Oberlin, as if he had been a contractor from his youth up, assigned to each individual an allotted post and gave personal instruction and direction

on every side. He did not fail to select the most difficult places for himself and seemed regardless of the thorns and loose stones which bruised his hands.

With such courage and patience, difficulties were removed as the rocks and gravel were. The demonstration of successful work brought renewed appreciation and aid from friends in Strasburg, and in the end a fine road was completed along the course of the Bruche. Streams which often inundated the highways were guided into channels made to receive them, and a wooden bridge was constructed. Replaced later by stone, it still bears the name then given it, "Le Pont de la Charité."

MINGLING RELIGION AND AGRICULTURE

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Realizing that all permanent advancement of the people in their modes of life depended upon their improvement in agriculture, he [Oberlin] brought to this end every stimulus which he could command. Organizing an agricultural club, he presided over it. He introduced new vegetables and gave instruction as to their cultivation. He investigated with the greatest care the nature of the soil and learned what it was adapted to produce. By the study of books and by correspondence, he sought the most improved methods of culture and made careful inquiries as to the best productions of similar soil and climate in Europe. He procured flaxseed from Riga on the shores of the Baltic, and clover seed from Holland. The potato which had been previously introduced, but had practically failed to pay for its planting, was thrown aside and a new and excellent kind was brought from one of the provinces of France.

A daughter of Oberlin testifies: "The cultivation of the potato was rare at the beginning of my father's ministry. As in other places, there was fear that this vegetable might be hurtful. In the

spring the ordinary food was wild herbs cooked with milk; and people were extremely embarrassed if their neighbors saw the potato used as a food. It was eaten on the sly. They were always careful, if any one entered during a meal, to cover the dish, so that it might not be known."

Giving this cultivation of the potato his personal care, he soon saw the people exporting from their successful crop to the people in the valleys. New grasses also were procured. Lectures were given upon the value of fertilizers, showing the people how to collect fertilizing material and how to apply it; how to drain their meadows, how to protect them from the washings of mountain torrents, and how thus to prevent the washing of their lands. Much waste land was in this way brought into use and enclosed.

In his appeal to the villagers for the irrigation of their fields, which came to be done with thoroughness and great advantage, he makes his scheme a religious duty: "I beg all those who do not contribute with their ability and influence to make the needful arrangements for a just and brotherly system of watering the meadows, to consider that the love of God and of one's neighbor, is the sum of all the commandments." Many of their grasslands, for lack of irrigation, were cultivated to so little purpose that it is said the wife could carry home in her apron all the hay her husband could mow in a half a day. He urged them to put aside their rude agricultural instruments, himself buying better and

more modern ones from Strasburg, to be paid for by the people on installments.

Never was there a more practical utilitarian in missions. Nothing escaped his indefatigable attention. Nothing was beneath it. His ardor and enthusiasm were surpassed only by the patience and prudence which he used in inducing his parishioners to adopt his suggestions. No sooner was his agricultural club at work than he added a horticultural society and began to create nurseries, from which he distributed young plants, selecting the trees most appropriate for the climate.

But, with all the religious exhortation attached to his instructions in farming, tree planting, and the care of sheep, he never lacked those who opposed him step by step. They could not understand how a man born and bred in a city could get any wisdom worth their consideration along the lines of their own experience. They had become convinced against their will that he had discovered something about road-making, but that he should presume a knowledge above theirs in practical farming, the care of the land and culture of it, roused resentful objections continually. Every proposition must needs be demonstrated before it would be accepted.

His success with his fields and fruit trees and garden was his answer to their questionings. Belonging to the parsonage were two barren fields which had always been noted for the poorness of their soil, and through which was a much fre-

quented thoroughfare. His agricultural neighbors smiled and wagged their heads knowingly when their parson began to turn this poor land into a nursery of fruit trees, intending to make it an orchard. They saw him deeply trench the ground and fill it with suitable soil. Next, he procured approved scions of apples, pears, cherries, and other fruits. His watching and care, his judicious thinning out and pruning upon a field thought to be unfit for any profitable use, brought a fruitful orchard in a few years as his justification. The excellent fruits, such as were new to the locality, before the eyes of all the passers-by spoke for themselves and for him. With all their inherited ideas and lack of ideas, they were once more convinced that Oberlin knew something besides his theological certainties, and gradually became more willing to take his piety and practical utility mixed, as they were indeed, in generous doses.

So earnest was Oberlin in the material betterment of his villages that his steadfast friend, Stuber, in Strasburg, wrote him a second letter, warning him lest his regard for these practicalities should crowd upon his spiritual duties. Oberlin was the last man on the face of the earth who needed that caution! It was his very personal contact with the everyday world and his interest in meeting everyday wants that protected him from a natural mysticism and from a tendency to fanaticism. These duties for the neglected poor were so many safety-valves for his fervent spirit. By directing his zeal and enthusiasm

from that which is purely spiritual into healthful channels and engaging his extraordinary earnestness in ordinary affairs, his balance of thought and feeling were preserved and kept sound. All that he did and urged upon his people was included in his interpretation of the ministry of the gospel. Religious motives were underneath all his instructions and plans, and were invariably in evidence. In his directions for irrigation, for example, he added, "Our Lord died for us; let us live for him," and one of the rules of the horticultural society was, "Each member should try to distinguish himself by Christian conduct, brotherly kindness, consideration, and politeness towards his fellows."

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